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MY LIFE IN FOUR CONTINENTS

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L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE.
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THE THREE PROPHETS.
APPLETON AND CO., NEW YORK.

LES SOURCES DU NIL.
CAGUIARD, ROUEN.

L'EGYPTE ET SES PROVINCES PERDUES.
LIBRAIRIE NOUVELLE, PARIS.

LA CORÉE OU CHÖSEN LA TERRE DU CALME MATINAL.
ERNEST LEROUX, PARIS.

LES COMBATTANTS FRANÇAIS DE LA GUERRE AMÉRICAINE, 1778–83. (*French and English Edition.*)
IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, WASHINGTON.

MY LIFE IN FOUR CONTINENTS

BY

COLONEL CHAILLÉ-LONG

GENERAL GORDON'S CHIEF-OF-THE-STAFF IN THE EGYPTIAN EQUATORIAL PROVINCES

B1622-

WITH PHOTOGRAVURE FRONTISPIECES, FULL PAGE PLATES, 24 ILLUSTRATIONS, FACSIMILES, AND MAPS

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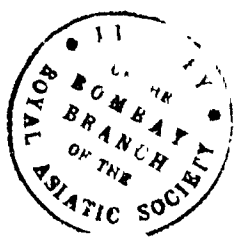

IN TWO VOLUMES

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1912

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Colonel Chaillé-Long, 1911 (Photogravure)	*Frontispiece*
	FACING PAGE
Séoul: the West Gate	342
Séoul: a Diplomatic Luncheon	352
Passport signed by the King of Corea	370
Sir Richard Burton	416
General Oreste Baratieri	486
Medals awarded to Colonel Chaillé-Long	492
Saïd Ali Ben Saïd Omar	518
Colonel Chaillé-Long (Photograph by General Gordon)	543

Facsimile

Letter of Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone	533

Map

Corea	338

MY LIFE IN FOUR CONTINENTS

CHAPTER XV

MY stay in Egypt, from April to September (1883), had been prolonged by an epidemic of cholera, during which time it was difficult to get away. Not, however, for the rich Levantines, who, panic-stricken, chartered steamships for their families and friends and fled to French or Italian ports in great numbers.

In the first days of October I was in Marseilles, where the Messageries Maritimes, coming from a stricken port, were obliged to undergo ten days of quarantine. Whilst there I received a line from General Mott, formerly chief of the American Military Mission in Egypt, residing at Toulon, asking me to go and see him, and, after liberation, I passed a day with the General reviewing, in long conversations, the reign of Ismail, and the sad mistakes made by the American Mission, which might still have been a power in Egypt.

In November, 1883, there was news of a frightful disaster. Colonel Hicks, promoted to Pasha, had been given, early in the year, the command

of 10,000 Egyptians, and ordered to "smash the Mahdi." After a first success near Khartoum he had attempted a march on the El Obeid. He had raw troops and few trained officers and was misled by treacherous guides. Surrounded by overwhelming numbers of the enemy at Shekan nearly the whole force was slaughtered after a desperate fight. This frightful disaster created the power of the Mahdi, and the proposition of Lord Dufferin to abandon the Soudan became an urgent necessity.

During my stay in Egypt in 1883 I learned, through the friends of a Coptic priest very close to King John of Abyssinia, that the latter was ambitious of becoming master of the Soudan. An army of 150,000 men was assembled at Adowa and ready to move upon Khartoum, and, capturing that city, to attack the Mahdi in Darfur. On December 11th (1883) I submitted a confidential note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Jules Ferry, at the suggestion of M. de Freycinet, in which I recommended that the army in Abyssinia might not only crush the power of the Mahdi, but, accepting the protectorate of France, restore the *status quo ante bellum* of that country in Egypt. I asked that a number of French officers might be detached for duty in the Abyssinian army, and proposed[1] that the

[1] Had the proposition been accepted Khartoum would undoubtedly have been taken by the Abyssinians. The author was in Corea in 1889 when he read in the journals of that year that King John, unable to induce France to undertake or support

responsibility could be charged to my account in my capacity as an American citizen.

M. Ferry informed me that his experience in the matter of Tonkin did not encourage him to take up any proposition as to the Soudan. He had been dubbed, he said: "Ferry le Tonquinois"; he did not care to acquire the pseudonym of "L'Abyssin."

This confidential note, dated December 11th (1883), appeared *in extenso* in the *Morning News*, an enterprising Anglo-American journal recently established in Paris.

The morning following the aforegoing announcement a despatch from London announced that Admiral Hewett, of the Royal Navy, had gone to Abyssinia to make a treaty with King John!

Now came Gordon's return to the Soudan—a much misunderstood action on his part. Two events determined him to take this step. The first was Lord Dufferin's declaration that the Soudan would be abandoned to the Mahdi; the second, the disaster to Hicks, in which 10,000 Egyptian soldiers perished in the desert, a disas-

his movement against the Mahdi, resolved to undertake it alone. He left Gondar with a large army. Descending the Bahr-el-Azrak, he arrived at Gallabat, March 9th, 1889, where he attacked a Dervish army, and had actually penetrated into the Dervish camp when he was killed by a stray bullet. On his death the Abyssinian chiefs abandoned the enterprise and began to retreat to their mountains. The Mahdists rallied and pursued them, and on the second day of the march attacked the Royal Bodyguard escorting the King's corpse, captured it, cut off the head of King John, and sent it to the Khalifa as a trophy of victory.

ter which threatened to devote the Soudan to a reign of savagery. It should not be.

General Gordon's dream of empire in the Soudan which had vanished on the eclipse of Ismail in 1879 was suddenly revivified in 1883, and would be realized with the energetic help of Leopold II.

On January 3rd, 1884, Mr. Demetrius Boulger, an intimate friend, his subsequent biographer, received from him the following: "Privately, I tell you I am going (D.V.) to Congo next month, but do not mention it."

This significant note was published after the tragedy in the *Saturday Review* in 1886, but it does not appear to have received the slightest attention, and yet it was highly indicative of General Gordon's predominant aspiration.

On January 7th, 1884, General Gordon had arranged with King Leopold for his future service in the Congo Free State; his British Army pension, which he would sacrifice by his resignation, was to be capitalized by the King at £7288 sterling.

"Gordon," says John Morley, "was a popular ideal to the immense inconvenience of the statesmen otherwise so sensible and wary who had now improvidently let the genie forth from the jar."

Gordon's mission, announced as going to the Soudan without a single soldier and for the purpose of evacuation, appeared to me an act of madness, a "fool's errand."

The press and public lost their head. The imagination of the people was worked up on its most sensitive side, and there was a single cry of "Gordon to the rescue!" Rescue of garrisons which Colonel Coetlogen or Abd-el-Kader Pasha, then in the Soudan, could have promptly effected!

On January 18th, 1884, the cry of the press brought General Gordon to London and to the War Office, and Gordon left for the Soudan with "the orders drafted by himself"—that is, no orders at all.

It was announced that he would stop in Paris the next day. I was residing in Paris and went to the Hotel Bedford, which he patronized, with the hope of having a chat with him. "Had General Gordon arrived?" "No," replied the director, who showed me a *petit bleu* received a few hours before which said: "Do not expect me; going through to Brindisi."

I would have shown Gordon a letter I had received from Dr. Abbate Pasha, president of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire, medical adviser to the Khedive, written me by order of Thewfik Pasha.

On the receipt of the news of the disaster to Hicks, in December, 1883, I had offered my sword to the Khedive[1] to re-establish, if it were possible, his authority in the Soudan. The Khedive thanked me graciously, but insisted

[1] Vide *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, p. 190.

that it was not possible because of the religious character of the revolt, and the immixtion therein of the powerful religious societies of the Sid-es-Senoussi, Sid-Abd-el-kader, etc. The sending of any European would be impossible because tending to aggravate the movement. Failing to see Gordon I sent him a copy of the note, urging him to take heed of the warning. In any case, to have several thousand soldiers with him or to follow.

When General Gordon arrived at Port Said he found an order from Lord Granville to proceed to Cairo. Now this was precisely what Gordon desired, above all things, to avoid. But as Mr. Wilfrid Blunt graphically expresses it, Sir Evelyn Baring had "harnessed him." Sir Evelyn, it appears, as soon as he heard of Gordon's departure for the Soudan, sent the following telegram, dated January 21st, 1884, to Lord Granville:—

"It is as well that Gordon should be under my orders, but a man who habitually consults the prophet Isaiah when he is in difficulty is not apt to obey the orders of anyone."

The despatch, of course, was confidential, but I can imagine Gordon's anger had he known of this gratuitous insult. I have seen him angered more than once, and have witnessed the vigorous kickings administered to those who had provoked him.

In Cairo General Gordon fell among enemies,

Baring, Nubar, and the Khedive Thewfik. Gordon had incurred the hatred of Nubar by a criticism which had caused the latter to wince, and Thewfik also writhed under a criticism which Gordon had made on Thewfik's accession to the throne. Nevertheless, Gordon, it appears, on this occasion, was diplomatic, and succeeded in obtaining a firman from the Khedive as Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces, and, singular to relate, the firman was accorded with the assent of both Baring and Nubar.

The terms of the firman clothed Gordon with absolute power, and constituted him, in fact, the successor of Emin Pasha, who, it is proper to state, was Nubar's protégé, and had been established at Lado as Governor-General and promoted to the rank of Egyptian Pasha. The firman said :—

"You will take the necessary steps for establishing an organized government in the different provinces of the Soudan, for the maintenance of order and the cessation of all disasters and incitement to revolt."

In view of the severe criticisms on the part of General Gordon's enemies, notably Sir Evelyn Baring, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, in the *Academy*, wrote in Gordon's justification :—

"The firman includes and justifies everything Gordon did, or failed to do at Khartoum."

We come now to the crux of the mystery which has surrounded the tragedy at Khartoum. Sir

Evelyn Baring, become Lord Cromer, published a book in 1908, entitled *Modern Egypt*, in which, in Vol. I, page 464, he lifts the veil which has overhung Khartoum. The author writes :—

"On February 1st, 1884, General Gordon wrote me from Korosko enclosing a letter for the King of the Belgians. In this letter he spoke of going up the White Nile, taking possession of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Equatorial Provinces, and then handing them over to the King of the Belgians. I therefore telegraphed Lord Granville: 'I do not think that General Gordon should be allowed to go anywhere south of Khartoum.'

"On February 10th," continues Lord Cromer, "Lord Granville sent me the following: 'You have full powers. Instruct Gordon not to proceed south of Khartoum'; and, following this, a telegram, marked official: 'Her Majesty's Government are of the opinion that General Gordon should not at present go beyond Khartoum.' I communicated the views of the British Government on this point to General Gordon on February 12th, and in reply I received a telegram from General Gordon stating that he would not go south of Khartoum without my permission."

Thus, after almost a quarter of a century of official silence, we are permitted to read the confession which, if made in 1884, would at once have relieved Mr. Gladstone from the stigma of failure to rescue, and relieved General Gordon

from the reproach of undertaking a "fool's errand," and of being disobedient, disloyal, and mad.

Lord Cromer does not publish Gordon's letter to King Leopold, in which he doubtless informs him that he had resigned his commission in the British Army, and, pending its acceptance, he will so act under the provisions of his firman as Egyptian Governor-General as to make favourable conditions with the "ancestral Sultans" of the Soudan, and that when the acceptance of his resignation was received, he would turn over the government to Zobair or some "ancestral Sultan," go south, and take possession of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Equatorial Provinces in the name of Leopold II, King of Belgium and the Congo Free State.

The letter to King Leopold, and the non-acceptance of his resignation and the refusal to send up Zobair, these are the keys to the tragedy at Khartoum.

. . . . .

I received a letter, dated January, 1884, from General Lew Wallace, U.S. Minister to Turkey, with whom I had served a short time in 1864 when he was in command of the Middle Military Division with head-quarters at Baltimore. Decorated by the Khedive Thewfik for services to Egypt with the cross of Commander of the Osmanieh, my friends had suggested to General Wallace that the Sultan would perhaps seize

the occasion to accentuate his authority in Egypt by promoting me to the rank of Grand Commander of the same order. General Wallace had an interview with the Sultan at the Yildiz Kiosque, January 4th, 1884, on the subject, when the Sultan asked him if I would take service in his army. He called his Grand Master of Ceremonies, Muner Bey, and dictated a paper, which General Wallace enclosed to me the same day. It was as follows :—

1st. That the American officer should have military and civil rank, and that he would be called upon to travel in Turkey according to the wishes of the Sultan.

2nd. That the officer should make known the amount of salary desired.

3rd. That the officer should swear allegiance to the Sultan on his religion and his honour.

4th. That the officer should have a compensation per annum in proportion to his salary. He would have promotion, augmentation, and the contract would be made directly with the Ministry of the Imperial List.

The U.S. Minister was anxious that I accept, and it was so agreed. In the meantine, I obtained for the General, as requested, information about torpedoes, and made a detailed report on that subject. Time passed, and, notwithstanding several letters on the subject, the Sultan

referred no more to the proposition. General Wallace was unable to explain the Sultan's conduct, but persons more familiar with the intrigues at Yildiz declared it was due to the opposition of a little fat Prince at the Palace.

Among the many business propositions submitted to our Contentieux International in Paris was a project to plant and exploit an article of commerce, *la ramie*, or China grass. A society, known as " La Société Fermière d'Orman-Abou-Ballah," was formed, and a plantation near Ismailia, Egypt, was leased, but the machine to decorticate the plant failed to fulfil the hopes of its inventor, and the society thus failed of its purpose.

Another project was a subway railway, and also an elevated railway in Paris, to obtain the concession for which from the municipality became the absorbing purpose of Prince Joseph Pignatelli d'Aragon and myself, encouraged by M. Cochery, former Minister of Posts, and Madame Lee-Childe, a lady of wealth and intelligence and cousin of Pignatelli. The subject entailed much time, labour, and expense, and failed because of the impossibility at that time to secure the necessary concession from the municipality.

In May, 1884, having severed my connection amicably with M. Nicoullaud, my law associate in Paris, I returned to New York.

On my arrival Messrs. Appleton and Co., publishers, proposed that I should write as rapidly as possible the story of the dramatic events in 1882. I applied myself diligently to the task, and the *Three Prophets* was in the hands of the printer within six weeks.

General W. W. Loring having completed his book,[1] sent me a copy, May 25th, 1884, with the following touching dedication: "To Colonel C. Chaillé-Long I send this tribute of my esteem and affection. It is a volume containing a few of the incidents and observations of my sojourn on the banks of *Old Father Nile*, together with a short sketch of the Abyssinian campaign, in which I was engaged. If my comrade of the *Old Guard* can glean from it anything to amuse and interest him, I shall be greatly pleased.—W. W. LORING."

I sent a copy of the *Three Prophets* in 1884 to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who did me the honour to accept it in a very gracious note. The announcement of the book inspired the muse of Miss Edna Dean Proctor, who sent me the following ode to the Mahdi, which was received too late for publication in the *Three Prophets*:—

[1] *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, Loring. Dodd, Mead and Co.

EL MAHDI TO THE TRIBES OF THE SOUDAN[1]

I have heard the Voice of the Lord
As the Prophet heard of old;
For me have the blessed angels
The book of Fate unrolled;
Gabriel, holiest, highest,
Flashed to my cave from the sky,
And cried, as the dawn illumed the east,
"Wake! for the end is nigh!
Speed! for 'tis thine to save the saints,
And their proud oppressors slay,
And to fill the earth with righteousness
Before the Judgment Day."

Then he was gone as the lightning goes;
And my heart leapt up as flame;
And forth I rushed to the Holy War
For the glory of Allah's name;
And rippling river, and rustling weeds,
And the wind of the desert sighing,

[1] The author received a letter from Miss Edna Dean Proctor (dated September 27th, 1911), the author of the above ode, *El Mahdi to the Tribes of the Soudan.* The following may be cited from her letter:—

"I am glad you are writing the book no one else could write, and I shall be pleased to have you include my poem—*El Mahdi to the Tribes of the Soudan*—it would seem to belong therein. You may be interested to know that the late Professor F. W. H. Myers, of Cambridge, England, said of it: 'It is so oriental I can hardly believe it was written by anyone in the Western world.' My compliments to your publisher, many of whose books I have, and the wish, if your book is to be illustrated, that the ideal picture of El Mahdi in your *Three Prophets* might accompany my verses—a picture that I like to look at because it really *illustrates.* The picture of Gordon therein is the most interesting I have ever seen of him. . . . As to Lord Cromer's studied explanation in his recent book, he doth profess too much methinks, and if you can show with incontrovertible facts where the guilt lies you will do a favour to history and humanity."

Echoed his cry as I passed them by,
"Speed! for the hours are flying!"
The sunbeams shone, like lances keen,
Across the Meccan plain;
The roar of hosts was in my ears,
Their fury in my brain;
And I vowed to the God of the Faithful
His Prophet alone should reign!

Now, who is on the side of God
To fight this fight with me,—
To break the ranks of the Infidels
And hurl them back to the sea,
And all this tortured, trampled land
From greed and spoil to free?
Who yearns for bliss in Paradise?
Who fears eternal flame?
Let him follow me to the Holy War
For the glory of Allah's name!
Leave your flocks on the grassy hills
Of cool Atbara's stream;
Under the palms by the lonely wells
No more at noontide dream;
From Nile's fair groves and uplands,
From meadow and marsh and mere,
Throng to the Crescent banner
With lance, and shield, and spear!

Come on your flying stallions
From lordly Darfur's side;
On your swift camels ride,
The sun by day shall bid you speed,
By night each guiding star,
Through the thorny wastes of Kordofan,
The wide plains of Sennaar!
And from Fez and far Morocco
From Yemen and Hejaz;—
For round the world to the Faithful
This fire of God shall blaze—

And from the realms of the Indian Sea,
And isles of spice and balm,
Shall a thousand thousand hither haste
For the glory of Islam!

And as in the Valley of Bedr,
When the Moslems charged the foe,
The angels stooped to the stormy pass
And laid the faithless low—
So shall they watch my Standard.
And all along our line
Will hover their shining legions,
And the battle be divine.
And should you fall in the conflict,
O glorious, glad surprise!
White-winged camels will bear you thence
To the bowers of Paradise—
Up to the crystal fountains,
And the feast of the Tuba tree,
The songs of Israfil to hear,
The face of God to see!

Allah! I long for the onset!
Moslems! welcome the day
When forth in the rosy dawn we sweep
As victors to the fray!
For fierce as the lion leaping
At night from his woody lair;
Dread as the hot simoon whose breath
No living thing may dare;
Strong as the sun when he mounts the sky
To bathe in the western sea—
So fierce, to the godless of the earth,
So dread, so strong are we!
And, by the soul of Mohammed—
Nay, by the throne of God—
The Infidel and the Spoiler
Shall into the dust be trod!

And away by the winds of heaven
As worthless chaff be blown,
And the Prophet, and true Believers,
Shall rule in the earth alone!

EDNA DEAN PROCTOR.

I was present one cold, disagreeable day in the winter of 1884 in the throng gathered without the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Central Park, New York, to witness the dedication of the obelisk commonly known as "Cleopatra's Needle."

It was with a feeling of sadness akin to pain that I looked upon the familiar form of my old friend, for such indeed the obelisk was. During some time of my long military service in Egypt I occupied quarters in close proximity, and when lost in day-dreams I gazed upon its stony face and, musing, read there the story of its past grandeur and glory. In imagination I saw it as it stood at the door of the great Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, where it reflected from its gold-embellished side the lights which flashed from the altars within, kindled by the hand of the great high priest, who performed the sacred rites; him who was the father-in-law of Joseph. There, side by side with its fellow-monolith, it stood, and, wet with dews of morning, waited to be kissed by the rays of the sun, or turned its face southward and along the Nile, as if to salute its sister obelisks in far distant Ethiopia at Karnac.

Again I saw it in Heliopolis at the period when

Herodotus and Plato were there engaged in studying the "Wisdom of Egypt," and again I saw it standing in the Sebasteum, at Alexandria, where it had been removed by the loving hand of Cleopatra. And then I saw it look out of the blaze of fire and cloud of smoke as the grand temple fell under the infamous decree of the Emperor Theodosius.

Another day I beheld march past beneath its shadow the conquering armies of Alexander and Cæsar, the Arab hosts of Amrou, and, in turn, the legions of Napoleon and Kléber. It unfolded to me, in its own mystic way, the glory of the days that had been, and the grandeur of Thotmes, the father and founder of the obelisk. It told of Cleopatra's love and devotion. It thrilled with the pride of the Pharaohs; it tingled with the shame of Actium. On its solid foundation in Alexandria it stood, when I last looked upon it, from out the wreck of time unscathed either by fire or the storm of battle, a grand and magnificent tablet of an unknown time and people. And now, as I stood in the presence of that block of stone rudely torn from its native shore, a stranger within our gates, I felt a sense of shame come over me as, in fancy, I listened to the well-merited reproaches addressed to my countrymen for the deep damnation of its taking off, an act of vandalism which may be justly likened to that of the rapt of the Elgin Marbles from the Temple of Minerva.

Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, the eloquent orator of the occasion, said, in the inception of his address, that the transaction and the removal of the obelisk were creditable to our nation and our day. Alas! if he had only known the facts! Then the orator asked "whether our system of religion and our system of government would outlast the obelisk," adding the reflection: "Can you expect the soft folds of luxury to wrap themselves closer and closer and your nation to know no decrepitude? And will your nation last? These are questions," he said, "the obelisk may ask, but not now."

When the memorial ceremonies were completed and a justly merited tribute paid to the genius and skill of Gorringe, the U.S. naval officer —who, parenthetically, was an Englishman—I deemed it my duty, if the only one of that assemblage, to protest in the following note, which was published:—

"Cleopatra's Needle upon our shores can never be other than a reproach. It was rudely torn from its base at the inspiration of some private and vulgar enterprise as yet concealed. It is not a gift to the nation, though the Department of State has permitted its Consular Agent to act in a semi-official capacity in its acceptance."

The people of Alexandria, it was reported, protested against the taking down and removal of the obelisk, and would have thrown the despoilers into the sea but for the protection they

invoked of the commander of a Russian war vessel in port. The people declared their intention to erect upon the site a monument reciting the story of the removal, and marking the act as one of inexcusable vandalism.

In the autumn of 1881 I returned to Egypt. The Secretary of State had been told, among other reasons to excuse the taking, that "the the sea was encroaching upon the land, and if not taken down it was destined to topple into the Mediterranean." I measured the distance from the place where the obelisk stood, and found, in fact, the contrary—that the land was gaining upon the sea. Besides, the Khedive Thewfik was made to believe that the U.S. Government *demanded* the obelisk given by Ismail to Mr Vanderbilt. Thewfik said in reply :—

"Mr. Consul, take it, my people complain. I am delighted to see that they appreciate these antiquities. I agree with them that they are of great historical value to us, but I do not wish to offend the Great Republic."

I was further told in Egypt, on high authority, that it was common scandal in Egypt that the obelisk was pulled down at the inspiration of some private enterprise, "and that 600 pounds sterling had been paid as a share claimed for services rendered in the purchase of the steamer *Dessouk* from the Egyptian Government, that there were two prices for the vessel which was destined to transport the obelisk to America,

one which Mr. Vanderbilt paid and the other which the Egyptian Government received."

Returned to America, I published these facts and recommended that the obelisk should be sent back to the despoiled and outraged city of Alexandria by means of a popular subscription.

One evening, at the close of the winter of 1884, I met Gorringe at dinner at Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Drexel's home in New York. To Gorringe I said, in the course of a conversation about the disintegration[1] of the obelisk: "You deserve credit for your skill in removing and transporting the monolith, and that is all. With the odium which the rapt attaches to the act you should hasten to disconnect your name, for you know nothing of the story which is current in Egypt. You brought the obelisk here, you should take it back; a popular subscription of one cent will speedily furnish the means. Such reparation to the despoiled city of Alexandria will make your name imperishable." And I added that he might inscribe on the pedestal these words:—

"This obelisk was taken from its pedestal and transported to America by Gorringe. When Gorringe discovered that the obelisk was not a gift but a graft, he took it back by means of a popular subscription of one cent, and set it up on its pedestal in the ancient Sebasteum, to the

[1] The obelisk on the Thames, as well as the one in New York, is in a state of disintegration from the disastrous effect of climate on the Thames, and because of the humidity and noxious gases; in New York, because of the excessive cold.

satisfaction of the offended gods and people of Alexandria and the glory of Gorringe."

On January 26th, 1885, Khartoum, besieged by the Mahdi in revolt, was surprised and taken, and General Gordon, its heroic defender, was killed.

A hope that Gordon had escaped was for some time based upon his own declarations in his published journals, namely: "I altogether decline the imputation that the projected expedition (under Lord Wolseley) has come to relieve me. As for myself, I could make good my retreat at any moment. I am not the rescued lamb, *and will not be.*"

General Gordon's family, indeed, believed for many months after the fall of Khartoum that he would be heard from.[1] I myself long clung to the hope that, however improbable it might seem, he had survived the fall of the city and was biding his time somewhere in the depths of Africa, waiting to reappear among us when there was some work to be done.

In the month of July, 1885, I visited Mr. and Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel at Saratoga. On the afternoon of the 22nd we went to Mt. McGregor, their country place, where General Grant and family were residing as the guests of the Drexels.

[1] Ten years later, in 1895, Slatin, now Sir Rudolph Slatin, the Austrian, after ten years' imprisonment in the Mahdi's camp, told how: "At early dawn of the morning of the 26th January, 1885, the city had fallen, and Gordon's head, wrapped in a cloth, was brought to my tent."

Mrs. Grant received us cordially, and conducted us to the end of the long piazza where General Grant was sitting in an arm-chair. The General took my hand with effort, murmured something inaudibly, and closed his eyes wearily. I listened with astonishment to the proposition which was being discussed to remove him to the sea-shore, and said, when we had departed, that I thought such a proposition a vain one, and that the General, indeed, was dying. The following morning we read that General Grant had died suddenly during the night.

In Washington a great number of distinguished[1] men of both parties, first among whom Associate-Justice Stephen J. Field, of the Supreme Court, recommended me personally and by letter to President Cleveland and Secretary Bayard, for the post of Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General to Egypt. Opposed to my appointment was the chief clerk of the State Department, B——. He had openly boasted that I should not be appointed to Egypt. I had provoked the hostility of this man by my interference in favour of Judge Barringer, as heretofore recited. B—— was an intimate friend of Sackville West, with whom Sir Mustapha Fehmy and Nubar were in

[1] Hon. Stephen J. Field, Associate-Justice, Supreme Court; Chief Justice Waite; Judge Vanderpoel; Judge Green; Hon. Frederic Coudert; John T. Agnew; John T. Hoffman; Samuel J. Randall; Senators Randolph, N.J., Wm. Pinckney Whyte, Maryland; General George B. McClellan; General Hancock, etc.

close communion. Little wonder that I should be *persona non grata* to these!

I sought Justice Field at his home, and told him that I would have little chance to run the gauntlet of such an opposition which B—— had provoked against my appointment. "Nonsense," said Justice Field, "these objections would not weigh a straw if Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Bayard really desired to appoint you." Justice Field took from his pocket a list of eight names which he had recommended for Diplomatic and Consular appointments, my name heading the list. "There," said Justice Field,"[1] is the reason for

[1] "Private.

"WASHINGTON, D.C.,
"*October 9th*, 1885.

"Chas. Chaillé-Long, Esq.

"DEAR SIR,

"On my return from New York a day or two since I found on my table your letter of the 4th. I am greatly surprised at the information you give me. Notwithstanding the delay of the Secretary of State in acting upon your application, I could not believe that it would be denied. I need not say to you that I am very much disappointed by his action.

"It would give me great pleasure to sign any recommendation in your behalf for any foreign mission you may seek under the Government. Your abilities, your knowledge of foreign languages, and your experience in Eastern life, render you pre-eminently fit for a mission to Persia or any other country of Asia. But I am unwilling again to call personally upon the Secretary to ask for any appointment at his hands. There has been, what has seemed to me, such reluctance to consider applications presented by me, notably so in your own case and in the case of Mr. Plongeon, the explorer in Yucatan, that I must decline to call upon him again. Of course, I will cheerfully add my name to the recommendations of others in your behalf. I shall always be glad to serve you in any way in my power. I am,

"Very sincerely yours,

"STEPHEN FIELD."

your non-appointment. Not one of these recommendations has secured appointment, and why? Because neither Cleveland nor Bayard care to encourage my standing and authority. To be plain, I am and will always be in every Democratic Convention a candidate for the Presidency. This is not to the taste of either Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Bayard, and neither you nor any one of these gentlemen has been appointed, nor will be." The Associate-Justice manifested his disgust in very vigorous language.

From 1884–86 I was a freqeunt contributor to the *North American Review*, then under the direction of my friends Mr. Thorndike Rice, editor, and Mr. George T. Ferris, secretary. At the request of Mr. Rice I wrote an article entitled "The Salon of Juliette Lamber," better known as Madame Adam, the distinguished *directrice* of *La Nouvelle Revue* of Paris. I was a member of the editorial staff of the *Revue*, and from my consequent frequent association with Madame Adam, was most serious in comparing her to Madame Necker and her daughter Madame de Staël, of the preceding century. I said also: "At this moment Madame Adam is the most distinguished woman in Paris. May it not be said in all the world?"

Juliette Lamber, Madame Adam's maiden name for which she still retains a coquettish fancy, was born at Verberie in Picardy, in the year—well, I shall not be guilty of the indis-

cretion, for in France woman has no age, and certainly Juliette Lamber, were it not for the hair that is silvery, might be set down as little more than forty. She has published: *Les idées anti-Proudhoniennes sur l'amour la femme et le mariage: La Papauté dans la Question Italienne: Garibaldi, sa vie d'après des documents inédits: Mon Village: Le Mandarin: Les Récits d'une paysanne,* etc. etc.

Among the élite of Parisian society which frequented her *salon* there was one who merits special mention — the famous composer of "Faust." One memorable Sunday afternoon, amid a brilliant assemblage of men and women of *belles lettres,* I heard Gounod play and sing his "Le Soir."

In the winter of 1886 I was in Chicago, and was invited to deliver a lecture on my expeditions in Africa for the benefit of the Chicago Press Club, a very swell affair, from which the Club realized a pot of money.

The Rosina Volkes Company, playing in Chicago, found themselves suddenly deprived of their leading man, and, obliged to close, attended my lecture by invitation of the Press Club. It appears I made an impression on the manager, for, on returning to the hotel, I was invited to join the Rosina Volkes Company in champagne, with the result that I was proffered the vacant leading man's place at a compensation of $150 per week! Very flattering, but I

declined, and recalled the stage fever of twenty years before.

In New York, in December, 1886, I was summoned hastily to the bedside of my old friend and comrade General Loring. I found him at the St. Denis, suffering with a rapid case of pneumonia. Notwithstanding the prompt aid of specialists he died in great agony within twenty-four hours. General Cadmus Wilcox came from Washington to aid me in rendering the last honours to our friend. Funeral services were performed at Grace Church, and among the pall-bearers were Generals Schofield, G. W. Smith, C. P. Stone, MacMahon, Cadmus Wilcox, Mr. George T. Ferris, and myself. Subsequently his body was conveyed to St. Augustine and buried with signal honours.

A few weeks later, General Stone, who had returned to New York from Egypt, was attacked with pneumonia and died suddenly. Thus, within a brief interval, there disappeared two notable figures of the American Military Mission in Egypt.

During the month of December (1886) I read, in the *Contemporary Review*, an article by Mr. Joseph Thomson, distinguished in African exploration, reciting the errors committed by Bishop Hannington's unfortunate expedition to Uganda. I wrote the author a brief note, congratulating him upon his courage in stating facts, and received in reply the following :—

"PARIS, FAUBOURG ST. HONORÉ,
"*January*, 1887.

"Colonel Chaillé-Long.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am very much pleased at receiving a letter from you, and I hasten to thank you for your kind remarks on my paper in the *Contemporary*. My views on negroes and missionaries and merchants would have been expressed in very much more vigorous language but for the absolute necessity of putting such matters in their mildest form if you don't want to raise a terrible storm among the rigidly and narrowly righteous, as well as among the old women (of both sexes) who largely compose this world of ours.

"People do not like to have the truth told them about anything or anybody they take a fancy to. I have tried to do it before this, on such subjects as that great balloon, the Congo State, only to have the meanest motives imputed to me, such as jealousy of Stanley, etc.

"Let me now congratulate you on your boldness in speaking out on the subject of Stanley and the Uganda Mission.[1] I may mention to you that you are not alone in fastening the responsibility upon Stanley. I have been informed that the Missionary Society itself considered that it was grossly deceived by Stanley. However, he has appeared such a genuine apostle of Christian light, and in his late doings on the Congo, that they are still prepared to

[1] "African Missions," *The Daily Graphic*, December 31st, 1886.

swell the chorus of praise which daily thunders around him.

"I hardly know how to express my opinion of Stanley. He is certainly a most extraordinary man—a man of great resource, of marvellous perseverance and determination, and who knows equally well how to lead an African caravan or to manipulate the British and American public. *But to gain his ends, either in Africa or in England, he is unscrupulous to a degree, whether that object be to attain a certain point in Africa or add to his glory at home.*

"With regard to Bishop Hannington's death, there can be no doubt that he (the Bishop) ran to his own martyrdom. Before he left I advised him strongly not to go, and forewarned him that he would run into trouble between Kavirondo and Uganda, and he had always the last sentence in the eleventh or twelfth chapter, I am not sure which, of *Masailand* to refer to, but he heeded neither, and so he was killed, and now he is described as having met his death in opening up this new route (my primary exploration of it not being noticed) when, in reality, he recklessly closed it.

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

"JOSEPH THOMSON."

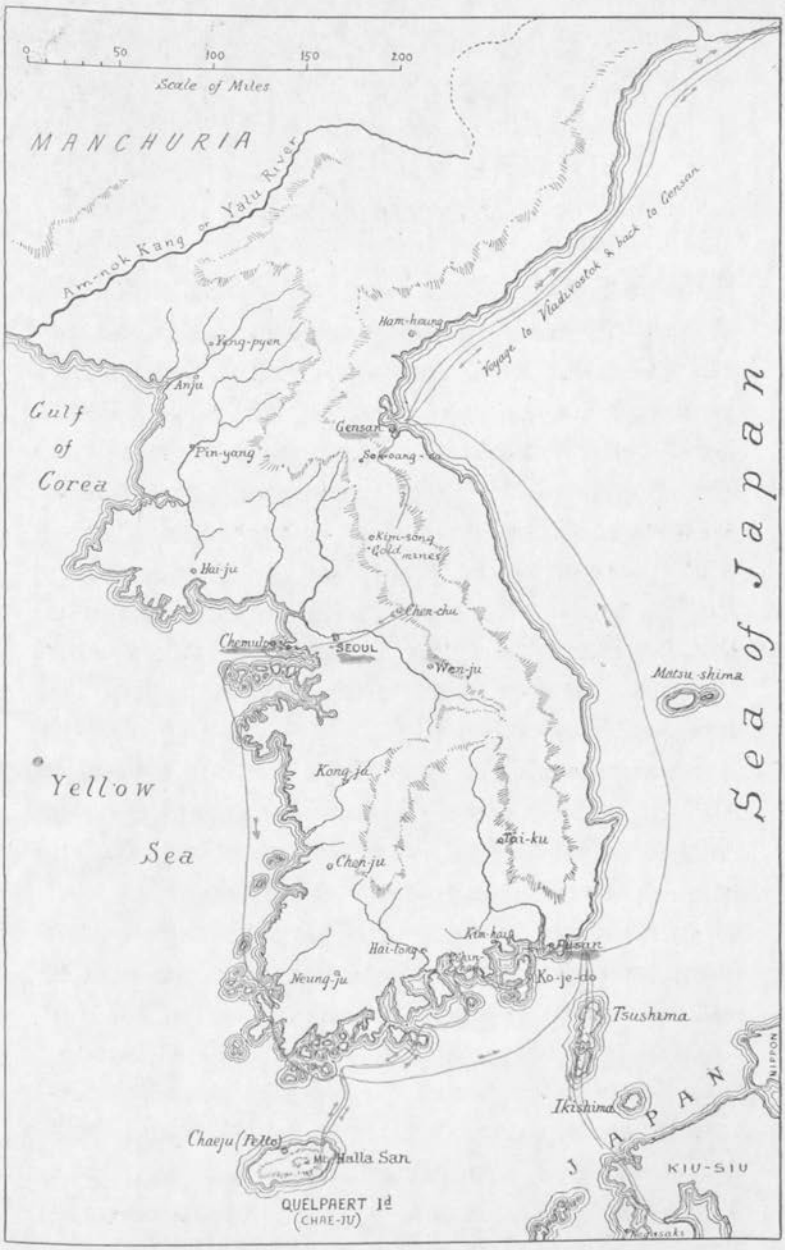
In the spring of 1887, when I had abandoned all hope of being appointed in the Diplomatic Service, I was proffered the post of Consul-General and Secretary of Legation to Corea by President Cleveland.

None of the gentlemen previously mentioned had awakened the slightest interest in my case on the score of merit at the White House or at the State Department. The active interference of the Hon. Benjamin Wood, of New York, in my favour, on the contrary, created for me the earnest interest of President Cleveland and Mr. Lamont. Mr. Wood was a powerful factor in politics, a *vote-getter,* and the whole question was there. I was invited to go to Washington, where I was given a warm and cordial reception by the President and his secretary. "There was no office that I could not have, but unfortunately the only vacancy was in Corea." The President urged me to accept. "It would lead to promotion; I would be within the eye of the appointing Power, and in the interval I could write a book." I deferred to the wishes of Mr. Wood, who protested against my accepting a position *ten thousand miles distant* at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars. It was not a recognition of my services, but an unnecessary sacrifice. Nevertheless, and on the written promise of the President to Mr. Wood of promotion, I accepted, and prepared for my journey to Corea.

CHAPTER XVI

I LEFT New York, September 3rd, 1887, for my distant post on the steamer *Louisiana*, of the Cromwell line, for New Orleans, with ample time to take the next steamer, the *City of Pekin*, from San Francisco. From New Orleans, via the Southern Pacific, I resumed my journey westward. The train was delayed by a storm and washout at El Paso during fourteen hours, during which time the passengers were permitted to visit Paso-del-Norte in Mexico, only a short distance away. San Francisco was reached without further incident.

I stopped during ten days in San Francisco at the Palace Hotel, but know nothing of its cuisine, save the early morning *déjeuner*. The San Franciscans are very hospitable, and although known to them only through the medium of flattering interviews in the press, I was invited —fêted—both in their homes and clubs, so that I sat at the table of the hotel but once. Among the hospitable homes to which I was taken almost *vi et armis* was that of Mr. and Mrs. de Young. I should mention, likewise, that, returning to my rooms at the hotel the night before sailing, I found a model ship made of



COREA

SHOWING THE AUTHOR'S JOURNEYS

beads and flowers, with wishes for a *bon voyage* in a note from an excellent lady, a Parisienne, who thus recalled by this gracious souvenir a slight service it had been my privilege to render her in a moment of bereavement several years before in Paris.

The *City of Pekin* sailed on September 20th with a large passenger list, chiefly missionaries, men and women, bound for China and Japan. The voyage was long and without incident. On October 10th the steamer arrived at Yokohama. The U.S.S. *Brooklyn* was in port, and a number of officers of that ship, to whom I was known through their friends, came aboard with an urgent invitation to accompany them to dinner with the wardroom mess. My first visit was to the Admiral. Returning to the *Brooklyn*, I found opposite me at the mess table, also invited guests, the late Mr. Carter Harrison, Sr., Mayor of Chicago, and his son. Lieutenant-Commander A. V. Wadhams, U.S. Navy, was an old acquaintance, whom I had not seen since the dark days in Alexandria, when he was serving with the U.S. fleet in the harbour of that city. Our meeting in the Far East was specially agreeable, and after recurring to the tragic scenes of the drama already recounted in these pages, Lieutenant-Commander Wadhams told me of Corea, whence the *Brooklyn* had just returned. Corea, it was certain, was not Egypt, and the story recounted of the land and people added little to my interest therein.

I remained ten days in Yokohama, and resumed my voyage through the Inland Sea on the steamer of the "Nippon-Yusen-Kaisha"—the *Higo Maru*—to Nagasaki, where I had the pleasure of meeting Admiral Shufeldt, who was living in retirement in that picturesque Japanese port. From Nagasaki the *Tsuguru Maru*, of the same line, conveyed me to Chemulpo, arriving there the 28th of October, 1887.

The coast of Corea—the port and town of Chemulpo—seen from the deck of the steamer on that cheerless day in autumn, was cold and dismal in the extreme. The rise and fall of the tides in the harbour obliged the steamer to anchor fully a mile away, leaving a long, low line of lugubrious mud-flats at low tide between sea and shore.

Chemulpo, known as Inchon in the year of the Treaties (1882), was then a most uninteresting port of one thousand or more inhabitants, principally Japanese and Chinese. Chemulpo is situated at the mouth of the Han River, fifty miles from Seoul. The overland route, however, is twenty-eight miles distant;[1] transportation was effected by very large bulls, for merchandise, whilst small ponies were used to carry the ordinary traveller, the *serin keoue*, or sedan chair, being the prescribed mode for the gentleman and official.

[1] An electric railway, since 1899, connects Chemulpo with Seoul.

Chemulpo boasted (in 1887) of two hotels, one Chinese and the other Japanese. The proprietor of the latter had the air and *embonpoint* of an ancient Daimio. Daibutz, however, had been a maître d'hôtel on an American man-of-war which was stationed many months at the port, and he had concluded to establish a hotel and plant himself permanently at Chemulpo. Daibutz now combined the functions of Amphitryon of his hotel with those of banker, broker, bootmaker, baker, and butcher, an unusual collection of "b's" in business, which manifested his strenuous energy and success.

The American Trading Co., represented by Messrs. Townsend and Walsh, were the sole factors of American trade in Corea. They kindly procured me a sedan chair, with four coolies and a relief of four—eight coolies—being the custom, indeed the *sine qua non*, of a gentleman or rank man in Corea. Sixteen hundred copper and iron coins, known as "cash," the money of the country, with holes in the centre and strung upon a string, equal one yen, or silver dollar. Each coolie receives a yen, hence eight yen for the journey was rather dear travelling for a gentleman. An ordinary traveller paid a yen for a pony.

Seoul was surrounded by a crenellated wall, twenty to thirty feet high, three to four feet wide. Eight monumental gates gave access to the city, and an ancient custom still observed prescribed

that they should be closed at nightfall and opened at daydawn. I entered the west gate, and turning sharply to the right, amid the curious gaze of the Corean idlers who thronged the narrow ways, my coolies hastened rapidly to our destination. The Corean *prolétaire* has little respect for the foreigner. Indeed, to be just, this is perhaps not more a Corean characteristic than Chinese, European, and American, the stranger being everywhere a subject of curiosity, if not of suspicion, to all. The crowd approached, thrust their faces through the open windows of my sedan chair, and in strange, guttural tones asked :—

" *Nu gunya ?* " (" Who comes there ? ") And my porters answered :—

" *So yang saram* " (" A Barbarian from the Western Ocean ").

Seoul was a city of 250,000 inhabitants. The Compound, the habitation of the rich and titled class, was a collection of *chips*, or small houses, of toy-like dimensions, surrounded by a high wall. The rest, the far greater number, were straw-thatched huts, all heated by the *cahn*, or exterior fire-places, fuel for which consisted of pine-tops. The heat was conducted by sub-conduits that radiated under the rooms. A pall of smoke covered Seoul night and morning when the fires were lighted or replenished. It was fortunate that it was thus, perhaps, for the smoke carried off the deadly exhalations from the ditches and alleyways which characterized Seoul and

From a drawing after a photograph by Colonel Chaillé-Long.

SÉOUL: THE WEST GATE

By courtesy of the Editor of "L'Illustration"

rendered it the most loathsome city of the globe.

My official life at the capital began with the presentation of my credentials and my reception by His Majesty King Li Hi. It is something of an event, the arrival of a new member of the Consular and Diplomatic Corps, and my future colleagues were all in attendance at the ceremony at 9 a.m. of November 16th, 1887. They were M. Waeber, chargé d'affaires of Russia, M. Kondo Masuki, chargé d'affaires of Japan; M. Hiyashi; Hashaguchi Hiyakowa and Captain Inouye, secretaries, consuls, and attachés; M. Colin de Plancey, commissaire for France; M. Guérin, chancelier; M. Krien, consul for Germany; MM. Reinsdorf and Dompke, attachés; and finally M. Yuan-Shi-Kai,[1] Chinese resident, and Mr. Tong, secretary.

The King was of short stature, with black eyes that made more apparent his very yellow complexion. His court dress was a robe of red silk bound under the arms by a belt set with jade stones; plastrons with embroidered storks and dragons ornament the breast and back of the tunic. The feet are encased in boots of black felt. The cap was a toque of woven horse-hair,

[1] General Yuan-Shi-Kai, later, as Viceroy of Pechili, played a prominent part in supporting the Powers against the Boxers. Mr. Tong-Shao-Yi became Vice-President of the Foreign Office, was Special Commissioner to the United States in 1909. Subsequently, in 1912, Yuan-Shi-Kai was made provisional President of the Chinese Republic, and Tong-Shao-Yi became President of the Council of Ministers.

or bamboo, dyed black. Eunuchs and councillors surrounded His Majesty, and whispered in his ear the questions elaborated in advance. "The *Taïne* (Excellency), had he been favoured with propitious winds?" "Does the Taïne admire Seoul?" "What is the Taïne's age?"

This latter question, it may be remarked, is the highest mark of Corean politeness. "How old you are looking to-day!" said a Corean dignitary who called upon me the day after my arrival in Seoul. "Does he wish to insult me?" I asked the interpreter. "Now, the Dragon defend us!" replied Wo; "he paid you the best compliment in the Corean code. The older in years in Corea, the greater the esteem. Is that not so in your country?" queried Wo. I was obliged to confess that it was not so much so as in Corea.

During the audience King and eunuchs discussed my dress (evening coat, black trousers, patent-leather shoes, and *clacque*) with evident curiosity. If the Corean costume is odd, this absurd evening costume of the Occidental is also odd. There were frequent sharp reports that rang like pistol-shots, causing one to start, and which gave the King and court great hilarity. His Majesty, remarking my puzzled and even annoyed expression, bade interpreter Wo explain: "Queen Tourandot and her companions were curious 'to look see Taïne.' Look," he added, "they plunge their fingers through the

oiled-paper walls, producing the report; the finger withdrawn, it is replaced by an eye."

The audience was long and fatiguing, but how much more so to the poor interpreter, whom the *protocol* of the court requires to assume a bent posture before Majesty, and remain so, his fingers touching the floor during the audience! Wo was almost in collapse when the signal to unbend was given. Shim Pansa, master of ceremonies, and Wo Chusa, interpreter, scrambled, turtle-like, on all fours (as they had entered) from the Royal presence, and the ordeal of my presentation was concluded.

Life in the Corean capital was monotonous beyond description. There were no streets or promenades—only one which ran east and west in front of the Palace—and if tempted to leave the confines of the high walls that surrounded the Compound, one must do so on horseback or be carried by coolies in a sedan chair. There were no cafés, hotels, or places of amusement. The only "distractions" were the dinners—the frequent dinners exchanged between the different members of the Consular and Diplomatic Corps.

The King's Palace in 1888 was a collection of *yamen*, temple-like constructions, gloomy enough in the day, very dark and difficult to illuminate at night—the very place for the pranks of the Evil Dragon.

One morning a number of Corean guards of

the Palace awoke to find their top-knots missing! A cueless, top-knotless Corean—what impiety!

The astrologers of the court convoked declared it the work of the Evil Dragon. Fear fell upon King and court, and it was forthwith decreed to do to death the offending Dragon.

I was Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* at that time, and received the King's messengers. "The Taïne must not be alarmed, there would be firing at the Palace." During the night, in fact, there was a continuous discharge of Remington rifles, loaded with ball cartridges which pattered on the tiled roof. Several shots, which had certainly missed the Dragon, passed through the sides of my oil-papered *chip*, and this evidence of bad marksmanship induced me to put up defences in the shape of mattresses, pillows, etc.

In the morning, at an early hour, the King's messengers returned. His Majesty was glad to inform the Taïne that the Dragon was *upso*, literally that *he had been fired out.*

Notwithstanding this announcement the cues were again cut, the Dragon had returned! At this juncture, when the affrighted King was about to abandon his capital and seek his mountain retreat, an electric light company appeared, and proposed to place their plant in the Palace, turn night into day, and thus turn the tables on the Dragon. The proposition pleased King Li immensely. Since then the Palace is a blaze of light, all business at court being transacted at

night. The Dragon, it may be added, plagued the Corean court no more. In anti-dragon circles in Seoul it was said that the Japanese agent of the Yankee Electric Light Company procured the cue-cutting by one of the King's guards, tempted by a handful of golden yens.

In 1888, at the suggestion of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Ministers Plenipotentiary were selected to represent Corea in America and Europe. Cho Pansa had made the voyage to the port of Chemulpo on a fishing excursion at one time, and this fact recommended him highly for the mission to Europe.

The Corean Treasury, never very full, was very dry at that time, and Mr. Cho was told to await a remittance at Hong Kong. Alas! Taïne Cho awaited in Hong Kong for months the draft that came not. His credit gone, he was forced to seek more modest quarters at the *Sailor's Roost*, whose proprietor kept Cho in pawn, until redeemed by his friends and returned to Corea.

Pak Pansa was selected for the post at Washington (1888). Pak had never been without the walls of the capital; he was not a candidate and urged strongly his own unfitness. The Government, on the other hand, insisted that the very fact that he had not travelled was proof positive that he had not been contaminated by the *Barbarian from the Western Ocean;* he must accept or suffer decapitation!—the common *argumentum ad hominem* in Corea.

Pak, accompanied by a numerous suite, arrived at Chemulpo. There was no trouble in his case, it appears, about finance, the U.S. vessel of war *Omaha* would give him free passage to Yokohama. There was trouble, however, in getting him on board ship. In the act of climbing the gang-plank the ship's sharp whistle sounded the signal of departure, and, re-echoed from the adjacent hills, Pak took it as the cry of the Evil Dragon. Frenzied with fear he broke from stevedores, and, followed by his attendants, crying "*Igo!*" (which, strangely enough, was not English, but a common Corean exclamation of alarm), he bolted for the shore, and halted only when seized and carried by force over the ship's side and locked in his cabin.

Pak arrived in Washington, where he successfully ran the gauntlet of the gibes and grimaces of street urchins, attracted by his curious costume. A few months subsequently Pak caused a number of *khisang* dancing-girls to be sent to Washington, and these were introduced officially to society at the capital and duly lionized. General Yuan-Shi-Kai, then Chinese Resident in Seoul, had protested in vain against the setting up of this Corean Legation. He hastened to protest at Washington that Taïne Pak's wives were not his wives, but vulgar dancing-girls! Pak Pansa, as a result of this incident, was packed up and returned to Seoul, where he was made to do penance during several months by an enforced

residence without the south gate of the city as an act of humiliation and expiation.

I varied the monotony of life in the Corean capital with my camera, being the first to introduce the photographic art into the country. It was regarded with suspicion even by the *yang-ban*, or nobles ; to the coolie it was an object of superstitious dread and attracted great attention, almost precipitated a revolution !

One day a number of negatives of Corean children disappeared from my camera obscura. Soon after stories were in circulation—the same old story used in China against the missionaries, that missionaries stole children, killed them, boiled them, ground their eyes to paste, which, spread upon glass, produced the images. Children were stolen, kidnapped and killed (presumably by order of the Tai-Ven-Keun, the King's father, an old conspirator, and a heartless, cruel old man). The mutilated bodies of the children were thrown into the streets to excite the populace to mutiny.

The capital was soon in a ferment, and the missionary compounds were surrounded by an excited and riotous populace. Telegrams were sent to Chemulpo by the United States and French Legations, asking the commandants of vessels of war in port to send a relief detachment. There being no response, it was concluded that the wires had been cut or the message intercepted. I thereupon mounted a fleet horse,

accompanied by two Corean guards, and left Seoul before sunrise. At Mappo, four miles away, I found Lieutenant Wainright, U.S. Navy (now Rear-Admiral), with a detachment of sailors and marines on the opposite bank of the river, but with no means of crossing. I forced the unwilling Corean ferryman to re-establish connection, and, this effected, returned with the column to Seoul, where order was quickly restored. The American detachment was supplemented during the day by one from the French vessel of war. The Foreign Office, which had until then done its utmost to provoke a massacre, issued the following characteristic pacific proclamation, which was placarded on the walls :—

" *Hoi-yu !* " (" Hear you ! ")

" Recent rumours recite that foreigners buy Corean children to boil and eat. Child-stealers are being frequently caught in the streets. Foreigners come from a calm, candid, and civilized part of the world. How can such people eat children ? Such rumours are like those which say that a tiger entered the town three times. How is it possible that such lies can fill the ears of the people ? "

Corean fêtes and festivals are legion. One of these, the great fête of the year, indeed, is the King's appearance in public, which occurs only once a year, and is known as the *Que-Dong*, or the King's procession.

On March 14th, 1888, the day fixed for the

procession, accompanied by the interpreter and a servant carrying my camera, I took position upon the line of the procession, which, passing from the Palace, would proceed eastward to the temple, where the King would sacrifice to the *manes* of his ancestors.

The display of barbaric pomp was a rare and curious panorama. Preceding was the marshal of the parade, borne upon a monocycle by eight coolies, court officials dressed in silks of all the colours of the prismatic spectrum, colour-bearers with banners and inscriptions of every device, modern troops, and ancient, wearing helmets of brass, tin, steel, and coats of mail—armour, we were told, the same as worn by the soldiers of the great Kublai Khan, who, thus accoutred, had tramped perhaps along the very same road.

Mr. Cho-Pyong-Sik, president of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, was a fine old gentleman, with whom my relations were most cordial. Mr. Cho came one day to invite me to a breakfast at noon at the Foreign Office, a breakfast specially offered to the Diplomatic and Consular Corps. It was for the Corean third moon in the year 498 of the present dynasty, which corresponds to May 1st, 1888. The letter of invitation was written in Chinese, the polite language of the court. The figure of a female upon the card, seated beneath the branches of the chrysanthemum and holding in her hand a lute, was significant, because it indicated that the

khisangs, or dancing-girls, would be a feature of the fête. The invitation, translated literally, read thus :—

"The red is turning pale, the green is growing fat, the pleasing colours of spring-time have come. It is the season of joy. Will you not, then, give me the pleasure to join me and my friends in the feast of good things which I have prepared for noon of 1st of May?

"(Signed) CHO-PYONG-SIK."

Mr. Cho received his guests at the appointed hour. He stood at the door of the Foreign Office, his right hand clasping the left and raised as high as the head—the Corean manner of shaking hands—and led them to the banquet hall, where the guests and khisang were assembled. The breakfast was a wretched imitation of European cuisine. When the innumerable nondescript courses had been served, and the repast concluded, Mr. Cho led the way to the courtyard, where the khisang, acrobats, and musicians, on a raised platform, commenced their performances. The dresses and character of the dances recall the *almées* of Constantinople and the *ghawazee* of Cairo and Upper Egypt; they are derived, indeed, from a common origin. The fête finally came to an end, and Mr. Cho, conducting his guests to the gate, where sedan chairs were waiting, raised his hands in benediction, and said: "*Pan-anyi-kassio*" ("Friends, go in peace").

From a drawing after a photograph by Colonel Chaillé-Long.

SÉOUL: A DIPLOMATIC LUNCHEON AT THE HOUSE OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By courtesy of the Editor of "L'Illustration"

The principal article of food in the Corean menu is rice. The country abounds, however, in game, and in the markets may be found, in abundance, bear, deer, bustard, swan, wild geese, duck, pheasant, quail, oysters, clams, and fish, a country for the epicure, and before the Sino-Japanese War one could procure the above delicacies for almost nothing. A Corean being asked why he disliked the foreigner replied: "He has quadrupled the cost of living." I have found, indeed, that the Occidental renders himself obnoxious to the Oriental everywhere because he raises the cost of living.

The predilection for rotten fish is a savage instinct in Corea as well as in Africa. Fresh fish is sometimes eaten. The fisherman catches the fish and consumes it on the spot; he bites off the head, dips the writhing body in a pot of *soy*, and swallows it with relish. *Kimtchee*, or rotten cabbage, is a delicacy of which every Corean, from King to coolie, aims to partake at least one day of the week. The odour is peculiarly insupportable to the olfactories of an Occidental, who gladly dispenses with the services of his Corean servant on kimtchee day at the Corean chip.

Dog meat holds high place in the Corean cuisine, at the Palace as also in the Corean pharmacy. Dog meat, however, is dear, and is reserved almost exclusively for the noble class. Dog soup is employed as a sovereign

remedy for small-pox, which is both epidemic and endemic in Seoul. When dog soup fails, recourse is had to the *moutang*, a class of sorcerers, who, with incantations and jugglery—the beating of drums and blowing of horns—drive out of the victim the Evil Dragon.

The King, notwithstanding the advantage of an American female doctor of medicine employed at the court, held to dog soup, the moutang, and the Dragon.

The government of Corea, under the appearance of an absolute monarchy, was a veritable feudality.

At the period of the conquest of Ghengis Khan, the latter established a system of administration which rendered revolution by the people almost impossible. Palace revolutions, in which ministries were overturned by poison or the knife, were frequent; revolutions by the people were unknown.

An administrative and a civil hierarchy were created and welded one to the other as the links of a chain. Two classes were created: the first, or the nobles, called *yang-bans;* the second, or coolie class, termed *song-nom.* The titles of the former were *pansa, champan, chamwei,* and *chusa.*

The coolie class possessed an infinity of titles of *low rank.* They exerted great power in their sphere, were paid a stipend, and the titles were hereditary. Hence the patrician and the plebeian were joined by a common interest in maintaining government.

The ranks of this political and social system, both democratic and aristocratic, were recruited by public examinations, over which the King presided. There was no age limit, and among the candidates men grey with years offered themselves, as they had done since youth, hoping ever to secure the object for which every Corean seems born, namely, to secure an office and title, however humble. The curriculum was not difficult. It consisted in proficiency in archery and the capacity to write verses.

I was present at one of these examinations, and witnessed a scene which may be compared to "hazing" in the Occident. A student, having passed as a *yang-ban* and dressed in variegated silk, was mounted on a pony, and paraded the streets accompanied by his friends. Another student, passed as a *song-nom*, had been pressed into the service and made to lead his superior's mount. This indignity was not enough to show the gulf that separated the two classes, for now and again a vessel, filled with loathsome fluid from the ditches which distinguish Seoul as the foulest city in the world, was handed the cavalier yang-ban, who dashed it full in the face of the coolie song-nom, amid the jeers and jokes of the crowd.

Besides these official classes there were two others—powers behind the throne—guilds known as *Pusang* and *Posang*. The former were recruited from the nobles, the latter from the coolie class.

These guilds numbered several hundred thousand, and were formed after the Chinese system, which existed several centuries before the Christian era, to protect the commerce of the country from the rapacity of the military and the Government itself. This apparent contradiction in a government so autocratic existed likewise in feudal Europe. Guizot, in his *Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe*, says: "*The institution of monarchy and the feudal relations of lord and vassal and assemblies of freemen existed at the same time, and were continually confounded and were continually changing.*"

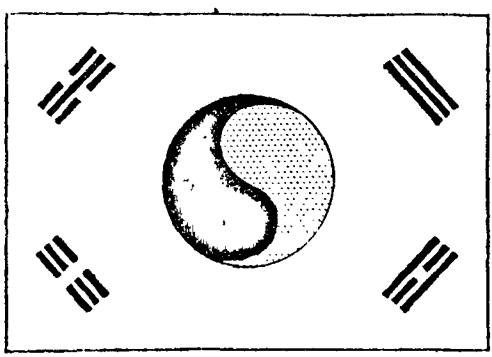
The guild houses of Shanghai are superb edifices where you may be entertained by native Chinese merchants, whose commerce has been thus protected against the mandarin for centuries.

Boycotting, indeed, assumed to be a modern institution, is clearly defined in the Book of Codes of Chinese guilds, namely, that during all misunderstanding with patrons or certain houses for whom work is interdicted the guilds prohibit all work for them.

On a certain occasion the Emperor required a large quantity of gold leaf. The work was urgent, and a member of the guild, to oblige the court at Pekin, committed an infraction of the code. Dire was the punishment. The guild, informed of the violation of its rules, condemned the offending member to death. One hundred

and twenty-three members of the guild, one after another, bit the victim, who succumbed under the ordeal. That no one had failed to do as commanded, each workman was examined to see that his mouth bore evidence of his participation in the bloody punishment. The recital adds: "The workman who inflicted the first wound was discovered and decapitated, but the rest were left undisturbed."

Thus the modern prophets of Communism, Louis Blanc, Babeuf, Fourier, Lassalle, Marx, Proudhon, and their prototypes, might have discovered their antecedents in the trade unions and guilds of China and Corea a thousand years B.C.



ENSIGN OF COREA

CHAPTER XVII

ART[1] in Corea is an illusion. It is, in any event an exotic, and, though fostered in the monastery, it came to Corea with Buddhism in its march from India through China. It is the child of the monastery, and, being entirely apart from the people, it fell when temple and tower went down with Buddhism in the fourteenth century. The Corean nation, it will be borne in mind, was composed, in the commencement of the Christian era, of savage clans incapable of comprehending or absorbing any refined cult, whether of religion or art. Sir Rutherford Alcock, indeed, says, in his volume entitled *Art and Art Industries in Japan :* " Over the breadth of Asia, among the Mogul, Tartar, and Turcoman races, the feeling for art in any form seems to have been absolutely wanting."

The Buddhist domination in Corea established there the three kingdoms of Korai, Hiaksai, and Shinrai. In the sixth century Kiou-Chiu, the capital of Shinrai, was a brilliant centre of art, science, architecture, literary and religious light. The end of the thirteenth century marked the

[1] " Art and the Monastery in Corea," *Cosmopolitan*, October, 1890.

apogee of the power of Buddhism. The Chinese Annals state that the monastery, once the cradle of art and science, had become the abode of vice and licentiousness. Li Tadjo, the founder of the present dynasty, attempted to preserve Buddhism, and conceived the idea of saving his co-religionists, by gathering up those left from massacre and sending them to guard the isolated monasteries built in almost inaccessible mountain places. The soldier bonze presented a curious phase of a Corean revolution. These bonze soldiers were known as *Chong-Sip* and their superior officers *Ti-Dip-Sa.* They were treated in all respects as soldiers of the army, except that they wore no uniform and shaved their heads. The Buddhist King hoped by this enforced seclusion to purify and reclaim Buddhism, but, cut off from the fountain source of their religion, the bonzes lost all culture and science, and became a densely ignorant class, recruited from the lowest elements of Corean society.

Shamanism succeeded Buddhism. Shamanism consists in the practice of sorcery and the grossest superstitions, dominated by Dragon worship.

The Corean army was formerly composed of six divisions, designated as left, right, front, middle, rear, and special. The soldiers were attached to their respective chiefs precisely as the retainers of the feudal barons in Europe. The soldier had to pay a certain sum for the

privilege of joining, but, once admitted, he enjoyed certain immunities and privileges. He was henceforth exempt from labour and taxation, and could loot the coolie at will.

A reorganization of this so-called army was first attempted by the Chinese before the Treaties; in turn, by the Japanese, by the Americans, and finally by the Russians; but in each case signally failed. The Corean, for a fact, has few if any of the qualities of a soldier, except an Indian-like capacity for pedestrianism, in which he excels.

The national costume is varied by varicoloured silk jackets. The cotton garments are thickly padded for winter. The costume of the coolie is pasted together so that it may be readily taken apart for frequent cleansing. The costume for the nobles is sewn and must be resewn after washing. The trousers are large and tied at the ankles. The boots are made of padded cotton quilted; a robe of white cotton, or of green or purple silk, is used as an overcoat! The hat, a unique and curious inspiration, is made of plaited bamboo (or horse-hair) painted black; the crown is small, and is secured by a black ribbon under the chin. The effect is that of *Old Mother Hubbard* in the Mother Goose melodies of bygone days. The hair, long, black, and coarse as horse-hair, is twisted into a tight knot and curled and firmly fastened on the top of the head. The top-knot, and the privilege of

wearing a hat, are the insignia of manhood in Corea.

The Corean youth is hatless until married, and wears his hair parted in the centre and plaited in a tress, which falls down the back. Celibacy in Corea is a reproach, and the first object in life of the Corean youth is to affirm the marriage contracted for him by his parents in infancy.

A death in the family obliges all relatives to don a conventional mourning costume during the space of three years. Should another relative die in the interval the mourning begins anew. A man in mourning cannot marry; custom, consecrated by time, forbids.

The mourning costume consists of a robe of unbleached linen bound at the waist by a linen cord. The trousers, the shoes, and the fan are of the same material. The hat, the talisman of the costume, is of yellow straw of umbrella shape, which, covering the head and face completely, falls upon the shoulders. The mourner may see but cannot be seen. The hat is inviolable. Like the veil of Isis, it may not be lifted!

It was due to the inviolability of the mourning costume that, while Corea was still a forbidden land to all white men, the French missionaries were enabled, during thirty years, to carry on the propaganda of the Catholic religion in defiance of the hatred and fanaticism of the Corean Government. Discovery meant torture and death, and in the fierce persecution that broke

out when the growing number of converts made concealment difficult, three bishops, several priests (French and native), and some thousands

COREAN MOURNING COSTUME
(From a native sketch)

of converts died in prison or by the hands of the executioners. Hence the abortive intervention of the French fleet in 1866.

I was passing through the streets of Seoul with my interpreter one day in 1888, when we met a man of seventy years or more dressed in

the mourning costume, but, *mirabile dictu*, a cue hung down his back. This old man, for a fact, was a boy! "What does it mean?" I asked. "Yes," said Wo, "it is strange; I will interrogate him." The old man—the old boy—replying to the queries, said: "I was to be married more than fifty years ago, but I had the misfortune to lose a relative the day before my marriage. Since then every three years or less I have lost another relative, so that my marriage has been postponed from year to year, and thus I have always worn mourning, and, unmarried, I am but a boy. But," added the old boy hopefully, "all of my relatives are now dead. I am mourning the last. Another year, the Good Dragon willing, I shall become a man and marry." The old boy pulled down his ponderous mourning hat, saluted, and passed on his way.

Among the foreign residents of Seoul were Mgr. Blanc and others of the Catholic missionaries, Drs. Scranton, Heron, Mr. Appenzeller of the Protestant Mission, M. Meyer of the German Trading Company, M. Merrill and M. Hunt of the Chinese Customs, Colonels Mac E. Dye and Cummins, Major Lee and Captain Nienstead, employed as military instructors of the Corean army.

Colonel Mac E. Dye had served with me in Egypt and had been wounded in Abyssinia. Cummins had been a gallant officer of cavalry in the Confederate army. Nienstead's experience

in arms was limited to his service in Corea. Lee was a medical doctor by profession; having joined the Philadelphia National Guard, he had become singularly infatuated with the tinsel and glitter of military life. He was a very singular character, at times a very agreeable and sympathetic companion, but his humours, not always gay, marked him at times of uncertain commerce. He formed a great dislike to the American Minister, based upon the conviction that an injurious communication to a San Francisco journal had been contributed by the Minister. The quarrel between Lee and the Minister became so envenomed that, in order to fix the responsibilities, I submitted a statement to the Department.

Russian influence over the Corean King was so manifest in 1888 as to excite the jealous hostilities of the representatives of both China and Japan. The American Minister, as well as the American missionaries—men and women—acknowledged the ascendency of M. Waeber, as well as Mme. Waeber, a lady of great personal charm and distinction, well versed in diplomatic intrigues, which were a closed book to both our Minister and missionaries.

The following incident may serve to point a moral and adorn a tale. On June 6th, 1889, a Corean, one Kim-Chang-Yo, employed as *intendant* at the Commissariat of France, and consequently entitled to the protection of the French

Government, in passing the residence of a noble, M. Sso-Piang-Sso, looked over the wall and beheld with profane eyes the ladies of the noble household, a crime than which there is none greater in the Corean calendar. Kim was seized by the people of the noble Yang-ban and vigorously bastinadoed. Kim was rescued by the soldier guards of the Commissariat, who laid hands upon Mr. Sso-Piang-Sso and led him to the Commissariat, where he was released. Released, Mr. Sso appealed to His Excellency Cho-Pyong-Sik, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who thereupon addressed a communication to the French Commissaire, demanding that Kim-Chang-Yo be delivered up to him that he might be punished according to the Corean code, which clearly indicated *decapitation*. And Mr. Cho added: "Why do you hold an individual who has committed such an abominable crime (that of insulting a nobleman) that the heavens are obscured? If the Government may not punish such culprits, I fear that the future has in store miseries without end. I hope you may give this Kim over to my satellites; he is a great criminal. In looking into the houses of others he has committed a disloyal act. He belongs to the category of the greatest criminals, and, although he is attached to your Commissariat, I have the right to arrest him."

The French Commissaire refused to deliver up the man according to the Treaties—and then, the

idea of delivering up a man to be decapitated because he had looked over a garden wall!

The nobles undertook to create a revolution—a rising of people against the foreigner. M. Colin de Plancy, hesitating to assume responsibility for such a contingency, invoked a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps. *The Russian Chargé d'Affaires and the American Minister voted that the French Commissaire should respect the custom of the country and deliver up the culprit!* M. Colin de Plancy protested that he would not, that to do so would be to deliver the man over to certain death. He presented a Note to the Russian and American, in which he demanded that they each sign their decision, but they refused and the incident was thus closed.

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires, who had procured the appointment of an American as Foreign Adviser to the King, suggested the appointment of American military instructors for the Corean army, and finally proposed the sending of Corean Ministers to America and Europe.

China regarded the forcible setting up of Corea in Washington and the capitals of Europe as little else than a violation of the Treaties. Was not Corea, for a fact, her *Little Brother?*

The German Consul had been active in securing some commercial and industrial benefits for his compatriots, among which was the es-

tablishment of a Mint. Was it with the view of checking the German's energies in that direction that the following incident was created ?

Mme. Waeber summoned the American missionary ladies to meet at the Russian Legation for an important communication. They were told that the German Consulate had been the scene of disgraceful orgies, etc., and that consequently neither the German Consul nor his secretaries nor attachés should be received by them ! All unconscious of this edict against him, the German Consul called at the several missionary compounds a few days thereafter (on Christmas Day), and was promptly refused admittance ! It was not long before he discovered the reason. He came at once to me, then acting as Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*, and demanded reparation for the offence in the form of an action for criminal libel against the American missionaries, ladies, who confessed that they had been summoned to the Russian Legation by Mme. de Waeber, and, after being informed of what had taken place at the German Legation, the Americans were ordered by M. de Waeber not to receive the German in their homes. . . .

Briefly told, after much difficulty, and with the consciousness that the whole story did great injustice to the German Consul, I succeeded in arranging the matter and suppressing what would have proved an intolerable scandal. That the Department might have some idea of the *status*

quo in Corea, I submitted, as the Chargé d'Affaires, a brief of the incident, and received from the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, a letter[1] of thanks and approval for the amicable settlement of the incident.

Subsequently, on the occasion of the proposed appointment of a Foreign Adviser to the King, a post to which the U.S. Minister aspired, supported by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Japan promptly summoned her candidate from Tokio, and his appointment, officially promulgated by the Corean Foreign Office the day of his arrival in Seoul, *was the first challenge by Japan of Russian influence in Corea.*

Henry Norman was in Corea about that time and, writing of current topics in that country, said :—

"Another illuminating fact is that when a Corean statesman is banished or executed for political trespasses, his wife and daughters and all his womenkind are taken and attached as a sort of permanent staff of prostitutes to one of

[1] "No. 108 Dip. Series.

"DEPT. OF STATE,
"WASHINGTON, *April 9th*, 1889.

"Chas. Chaillé-Long.

"SIR,—I have received your despatch No. 165 of February 4th, 1889, touching the complaint of the German Consul at Seoul, in the matter of certain libellous and defamatory allegations injuriously affecting his private and official character.

"The Department highly approves of your course in effecting an amicable settlement of the incident as far as American citizens are concerned.

"I am, etc.,
"JAMES G. BLAINE."

the Departments of State for the use of the Minister and his assistants.

"This is the country," adds Norman, "for which the United States are supposed to be shedding tears of sympathy, and where they are certainly, through some of their representatives, engaged in a ludicrous course of political intrigue."

The island of Quelpaert, or *Chae-ju*, its native name, is a dependency of Corea, situated south of the peninsula about sixty miles, and between parallels 33° and 34° north, and meridians 126° and 127° east from Greenwich. Forty miles in extent, E.N.E. and W.S.W., it has a breadth of seventeen miles. A high range of mountains traverses its entire length, culminating in the centre in a lofty peak, known as *Halla-San* (Cloud Mountain), 6500 feet above the sea-level.

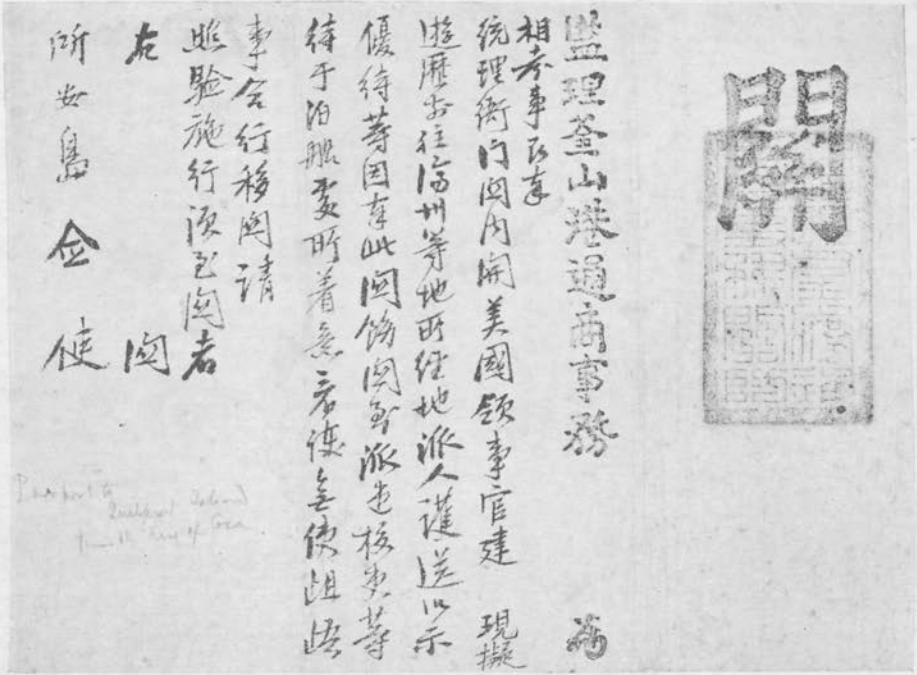
Two hundred and fifty years ago, in 1653, the Dutch ship *Sparwehr, en route* from Holland to Nagasaki, was wrecked off the coast of Quelpaert, and of the crew of sixty-four men, thirty-six succeeded in reaching the shore alive. Among these was Hendrik Hamel[1] (supercargo), who, with several of his companions, was imprisoned during fourteen years in Corea. They finally escaped, and, returning to Holland, Hamel published the first account of Quelpaert, of Corea

[1] Hendrik Hamel was the same or a relation of the Hendrik Hamel who was President of the Chamber of Commerce of Amsterdam in 1629.

and the Coreans, in the *Contes des Ambassadeurs Mémorables de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.* Amsterdam, 1680.

The question of the origin of the Corean greatly interested me. I decided to profit by the annual leave of two months accorded by the State Department to visit Quelpaert, hoping to find in the aborigines (?) of the island a clue to those who had first settled Corea. I had read a volume by the Reverend Père Petitot, *Les Grands Esquimaux.* His account of the Esquimaux might, indeed, have been written of the Coreans, added to which the high cheek-bones, the red skin, the coarse black hair, the fondness for blubber and decayed fish—a striking similarity of customs and traditions — announced the intimate relationship between Esquimaux and Corean. Having visited Quelpaert, I would retrace my journey to Fusan, and thence take a steamer north to Vladivostok, and, returning to Gensan, gain the capital of Corea by a march overland south-west, through a country not yet visited by a white man. I would thus find myself face to face with the aborigines of the country.

In August, 1888, I sought and obtained, through my friend Mr. Cho-Pyong-Sik, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a *quandja*, or passport, signed by the King. Mr. Cho granted my request with reluctance. "You will not be able to go there. Besides, the King fears that harm will come to you; the people of Chae-ju are savages—



PORTION OF A QUANDJA OR PASSPORT SIGNED BY H.M. LI HI, THEN KING OF COREA

pirates—and no white man has ever visited the island." I insisted, and finally the King yielded.

On September 4th I left Seoul, accompanied by Kim Wone, interpreter, and Chung Chotah, cook and valet. Several officers of the U.S. Navy, on duty with the vessels of war on the station, desired to accompany me, but failed to receive the required permission. I embarked, on September 5th, on the *Higo Maru* for Fusan. The U.S. vessel of war *Essex* sent up her signals to wish me *bon voyage*, to which the *Higo* responded: "Many thanks."

Finding it impossible to procure an outfit for the voyage in Fusan, I left my servants there to await my return and proceeded to Nagasaki. Whilst in Nagasaki I renewed acquaintance with Mr. Birch, U.S. Consul, Lieutenant Max Woods, U.S. Navy, Admiral Shufeldt (retired, and residing in Nagasaki), and, among many others, Mr. Stoddart, a genial Scotchman, a nephew of Dr. Livingstone, the African traveller.

Mr. Stoddart obliged me to quit the hotel and become his guest in his comfortable house on the hills overlooking the picturesque port of Nagasaki. During my sojourn in Japan, I took two *jinriksha* or carriage-pulling men, and visited the hot sulphur springs of Ungen and Obama.

Having completed my outfit I returned in the *Higo* to Fusan, and put up at the Japanese Hotel Kokei-ti, the Hotel Waldorf-Astor of Fusan.

Kim had been instructed to engage a boat in

the interval of my absence, but he had done nothing. Mr. Hunt (and his family), whom I had known in Seoul, was the collector of the port under the Chinese Customs Service of Sir Robert Hart. Mr. Hunt was kind and energetic, and introduced me to the Corean Governor, Mr. Yu-Kee-Han. Mr. Yu commenced by attempting to force the Corean captain of a junk to take me to Quelpaert. The captain positively refused, and I regret to say that the Governor used violence in order to force him. "Kill me," he said, "I will not go." I interfered and made an *amende* to the captain in the form of several yen.

Finally I appealed to the Japanese Consul, M. Murota, who proposed a *sampan*, or fishing boat, manned by five Japanese sailors. It was the only alternative; I accepted, and the terms were duly arranged by M. Murota.

The little boat, named the *Bravo-Maru* for the occasion, was speedily prepared and provisioned and left Fusan on the morning of September 22nd. Their Majesties the King of Corea and the Mikado would not have had in Fusan a more ceremonious send-off. The Consul was there, and all his official family, the proprietor of the Kokei-ti; indeed, the whole town was gathered to do honour to the traveller who was daring to undertake a journey to Chae-ju!

Space on the *Bravo-Maru* was very limited—besides Kim and Chung there were now five

Japanese boatmen—nevertheless we soon fitted ourselves to the inevitable. On the 25th, favoured by a fair wind, we ran into Soando, placed on the Admiralty chart as Crichton Harbour. From this point Quelpaert lay due south. Fortunately the Governor of Soando knew of a pilot who was then at Soando and sent him to me. It was the 27th before the wind was favourable. Yang-Man-Tuk, standing on a ledge of rocks and pointing southward, exclaimed :—

"*Taïne, ouriga Chae-ju ril nul pogesso,*" which literally interpreted says : "Excellency, we will Chae-ju go to-morrow see."

The following morning at four o'clock, with the wind blowing strong from the north, the *Bravo-Maru* closely reefed, we sped on our way. In the afternoon, about two o'clock, we entered the harbour of Quelpaert, the object of the curious gaze of a savage multitude, who hailed us from the well-built walls of the port and town of Pelto : "Who are you ? Where are you from ? Why do you come ? No stranger may land in Chae-ju—be off ! " Kim, at my command, went forward, bowed in respectful form, and, kissing the *quandja,* presented it to the chief of the brigand band, telling him to give it to the Governor. The crowd followed their chief, who disappeared, and we saw them no more until the following morning, when they returned and subjected us to all manner of gibes and insults. "Where was the chief ? " we asked. "He has

gone," they replied, "to Chu-Song, the capital, to see the Governor."

On the 29th, in the night-time and when I had begun to think that the wisest course was to abandon the attempt to land, a messenger hailed us; the Prefect of Police desired Kim to come ashore. I replied: "You may say that Kim will go in the morning." In the morning Kim arrayed himself with care and sallied forth. I confess I had some doubt of the people whom we could see from the boat, but not so Kim, having more confidence in the *quandja* than I had. An hour later Kim returned. He had been welcomed with high honours and a tent had been erected on shore, where we would be received later. Meanwhile, the Prefect would come on board to pay a visit of ceremony. He came, in fact. When he had been offered tea and cigarettes he begged for the cups, and, spying my blankets, asked that they be given him. Finally the visit ended and he departed. I followed, and was received with some attempt at pomp and ceremony. The Prefect, it appears, in obedience to custom, proceeded to interrogate us, including Chung and the sailors. Our names, station, rank, country, age, etc., all of which was duly recorded in the annals of Chae-ju. Our arrival had made history, and may be handed down to future generations.

The following day I was informed that the Governor would receive me in Chu-Song, the

capital, and that a guard would be sent to conduct me thither. I cite from my itinerary the incidents of that memorable journey :—[1]

"The town of Pelto was in an uproar. There was a clanging of rude instruments, the screech of ear-rasping bagpipes, and the noise of the gathering escort. The Prefect and his subordinates were arrayed in gorgeous vari-coloured robes. Mounted on very diminutive horses were two hundred or more men, holding aloft banners on which were strange devices. The dress of these cavaliers consisted of a complete coat of mail, on their heads a copper or brass helmet surmounted with a heavy spike. From the helmet there fell upon the shoulders a curtain of plaited leather, whilst from under the helmet a mass of long black hair straggled in disorder, adding thus to the fierce expression of these ancient-looking warriors. Covered with dust and clothed in such uniform, they seemed to be a part of the hosts which had come to this island under the banners of Kublai Khan as early as 1230. . . .

"The column formed, the shrill bagpipes sounded and the cortège moved in single file. Not so, however, the wild mustang which had been given me to ride. Two men held him by ropes on each side, fearing to approach the vicious

[1] *A Visit to Quelpaert Island; in the Footprints of Kublai Khan.* Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, New York, 1890.

beast. Manifestly, I was being subjected to very serious tests, but I resolved that if the brute had never been ridden by anyone in Quelpaert, I would ride him or know the reason why. I mounted, finally, by a ruse, and then commenced a series of gyrations and gymnastics rarely if ever equalled. When the brute had well-nigh kicked himself out of joint he surrendered and meekly joined the line of march, amid the hurrahs of the soldiers. 'Taïne,' they said, 'was not born to have his neck broken by a Chae-ju pony,' although that had been the original proposition.

"A march of two hours brought us to the south gate of Chu-Song. The wall which encircles the city is quite twenty-five feet high, of black, volcanic rock, mounted at intervals with towers and turrets which serve as look-outs.

"Three gates give entrace to the city: Tong-Mou, East Gate; Su-Mou, West Gate; Man-Mou South Gate. The three principal cities of Chae-ju are Chu-Song, Chong-Hai, and Tai-Chong.

"The religion of Quelpaert, like that of Corea, is simply a belief in the spirits of earth and air, an admixture of worship of ancestors, some idea of the transmigration of souls, but Dragon worship predominates. All trace of Buddha has gone, save the huge stone images, which may be seen standing in the streets.

"Halla-San is the god of Chae-ju. 'Halla-San,' said an old man of the island, 'is the home of a great spirit. No one can ascend to the top

of the mountain, it is the home of a fairy goddess whose face no one can see and live. Halla-San is the beginning of creation. There man was first created. Three men sprang up from the mountain-top—Yang-Ulla, Ko-Ulla, and Po-Ulla—and stood in each other's presence. When they had recovered from their surprise they descended to the seashore, discussing serious things. Arrived there, lo! there appeared in the distance, borne swiftly upon the waves, a huge box which fell at their feet. Three beautiful women stepped out. Yang, Ko, and Po married them, returned to Halla-San, and found there fruits, grains, fowls, and animals. Thus the creation of the world, men, and beasts.' "

On October 1st, having accomplished the object of my visit, I bade the Governor adieu, and, escorted with much pomp and parade by the guard, music, and banners, returned to Pelto.

On October 3rd the Japanese captain of our boat awakened me at three a.m. to announce that the wind was favourable. I gave the order to depart, and the *Bravo-Maru* slipped silently and swiftly out of the port in the bright moonlight, with not even the bark of the watchful dogs to announce our departure. The breeze was strong but steady, and at sunset we were safely under the lee of the Soando group, where the dangers of the sea were past. Chief among these, I should mention, was the dread cyclone, a frequent visitor at that season. On the 7th

we arrived at Fusan, where our journey of five hundred miles in a sampan procured for us some enthusiasm and interest on the part of the Japanese, who were encouraged to profit by trade with the hitherto unapproachable islanders of Quelpaert.

On the 17th, having sent my attendants back to Seoul, I took passage on the *Takachima-Maru* to Gensan and Vladivostok, in Eastern Siberia. The four days that the ship remained in Vladivostok were quite sufficient to satisfy all curiosity about that town, in which every other house was a *vodka* shop. The temperature was almost down to freezing point, and what with the leaden skies and the dreary, desolate appearance of things in and about this prospective terminus of the Trans-Siberian railway, I was not sorry when we departed.

Arrived at Gensan, October 27th, I left the ship and prepared for my proposed march overland to the capital. Mr. C—— and Mr. B——, the collectors of the Corean customs, kindly aided me in procuring two Corean pack ponies and a driver. I was likewise obliged to Mr. Wo, Chinese Consul, for a letter of recommendation to the venerable bonze, Mr. Suit-Ho, or Snowy River, the chief of the celebrated Buddhist monastery of An-Pien, where I was told I must remain the night of my first day's march from Gensan.

It was almost sunset on October 29th (1888) when, tired and worn by fatigue (twenty-seven

miles is a fair day's march) due to the exceedingly rough road over which we had passed, we crossed the picturesque bridge which spans the stream and passed the outer gate of Sok-Oang-Sa, flanked on each side by two huge wooden figures of diabolic shape and expression and bearing inscriptions written by King Tadjo, the founder.

The monastery[1] of Sok-Oang-Sa is situated in the province of An-Pien and within the gorge formed by the surrounding mountains of Sol-Pong, south-west of Gensan (twenty-seven miles from that port). The situation is one of peculiar and striking beauty. The road which leads thereto winds along the base of the towering summits of Sol-Pong until it reaches the gorge, into which it runs abruptly, and then passes through the graceful groves of pine and sweet-scented fir trees, among which, brawling and tumbling down over rock and ledge, a swift and noisy mountain stream forms innumerable cascades, flashing in the sunlight, and reflecting all the colours of the chromatic spectrum as it escapes into the valley outside, where it goes to do its work in the irrigation of the paddy fields, which constitute the chief cultivation of the Corean coolie.

A numerous throng of bonzes and attendants, already warned of the arrival of a stranger, came forward to meet me and extend welcome and

[1] "Art and the Monastery in Corea," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, October, 1890, p. 73.

hospitality. The presentation of Mr. Wo's letter to Mr. Snowy River procured me cordiality and attention. A room in the great monastery was quickly assigned me, and, having made my ablutions in the stream, I proceeded with the aid of my Corean driver, acting as valet, to prepare my repast from the ample store of *conserves* I had purchased at Vladivostok. During this time I was surrounded by the ever-curious bonzes and neophytes, who were lost in amazement to see a gentleman prepare his own food, and laughed immoderately to observe the manner in which it had been placed in tin cans or bottles. They scrambled for the empty tins like so many children. It is no inconsiderable part of the fatigue of journeying in Corea to suffer patiently, as I had learned to do, the persistent curiosity of a people who looked, perhaps for the first time, upon a white face, and to whom every article of his apparel becomes a subject of curious inquiry and endless criticism, inquiry which is carried on by gestures rather than speech, because the reader will understand that the Corean language is difficult to acquire, and my vocabulary, hastily compiled, was limited to subjects relating to the ponies, the pack, and the cuisine. Having endured the ordeal to which I was subjected a reasonable time, I made them understand that I was weary and would sleep. I finally had to force them out, and, throwing

myself under my blankets on the floor, was soon wrapped in profound slumber.

In the morning I arose refreshed and proceeded to the stream for a bath, and having breakfasted (Mr. Snowy River accepting the honour of breakfasting with me)—a breakfast composed of an *omelette au fromage*, biscuit Huntley and Palmer, broiled corned beef, and boiled eggs and butter, in tins—Mr. Snowy River confessed that he had never partaken of such excellent fare. The repast finished, I proceeded to photograph the monastery and bonzes. Many of the plates were, however, unfortunately damaged in the rude transit on the ponies, one of which went very lame, and both of which were wild and unmanageable, even by the Corean driver.

Having subscribed my name in the donation book, the first white traveller who had ever visited Sok-Oang-Sa, I gave a liberal fee of copper cash from my store, bade my hospitable hosts adieu, and left them at the outer gate to resume the journey to Seoul, two hundred miles distant from Gensan.

On the second day's march I found a boiling spring, disclosed by the dense vapour which hung over the mountain on which it was located. The third day I discovered the source of the Han River, and followed it until it developed into the bold stream which finds its way past the capital and to Chemulpo in the Yellow Sea. The same day I passed through the Corean gold mines,

which were being worked by the Coreans by primitive methods.

On the evening of November 4th I arrived in Seoul, footsore and fatigued. The hardships of that journey I shall never entirely forget. The traveller in Corea must necessarily seek shelter at night in the *cahns*, or hotels, in which he is almost roasted by the excessive heat and bitten to death by fleas, add to which the terrible and inexpressible filth, which it is just to say is not greater, indeed, than at the capital. "Why," I fancy I hear the reader ask, "does not the traveller sleep without the limits of the town?" The answer is simple. The tiger is numerous in Corea, and the traveller would surely be snapped up before many hours. The cry of "*Horang!*" in all Corea will send the people of a village in terror to cover, precisely as it does in Seoul, which the tiger frequently visits in winter when pressed by hunger.

My impressions as to the relations of the Corean to the polar regions were confirmed by this journey. The Corean, removed from the capital, from all contact with the Chinese and Tartar people, presents all the characteristics of the red man or the Esquimaux, and I have developed that argument in a volume entitled *La Corée ou Chösen, la Terre du Calme Matinal.*[1]

[1] Mr. Snowy River sent the author, several weeks subsequently, a present of valuable documents, which are published in the article in the *Cosmopolitan*, "Art and the Monastery in Corea." *La Corée ou Chösen, la Terre du Calme Matinal.*" E. Leroux, Paris, 1894.

His Majesty Li-Hi, King of Corea, informed of my return, invited me to a private audience on November 10th. The King listened with eager interest to the account of my journey. He was particularly desirous to know what system of coast defence I would advise for Corea, expressing regret, at the same time, that I had refused his previously proffered proposition to accept the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Corean army. I replied, giving him at length my views as to the character of the fortifications required, and adding that I was happy to have contributed a page to the unwritten history of the island I had visited, and hence to the history of Corea.

In the winter of 1889, whilst Chargé d'Affaires of the Legation, I received a letter from Mr. Manning, representative in Congress, from Mississippi, requesting me to submit to the King of Corea the Timby revolving turret. Mr. Manning sent a model and plan. The price, if I remember, for a single turret was a half-million dollars. How could Corea, then, raise such a sum? I sent for Colonel Mac E. Dye, who agreed with me that such an expenditure was beyond Corea's capacity. The Corean Minister of Finance, it was well known, had been unable to pay a claim of ten thousand yen, or five thousand dollars, which the German Consul had been attempting to collect. Nevertheless I submitted Mr. Manning's proposition to the King. His Majesty was greatly pleased at the revolutions of the model. What

was the price? When the sum was named he nearly collapsed. I wrote Mr. Manning of my regrets that this feudalistic country was yet in a chrysalis state and could not indulge in serious armament for years, if ever.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE change of administration at Washington, and the inauguration of Mr. Harrison on March 4th, 1889, presented the much-desired pretext for returning to America, and I hastened to address my resignation to Mr. Blaine. No attention being paid thereto, much to my surprise, I asked a leave of absence with permission to visit Washington. It was not until August 3rd that I received a cable granting me the desired leave, and, having made my visits to the King, Government officials, and members of the Consular and Diplomatic Corps, I left Seoul on the morning of the 4th, accompanied by several of my colleagues, M. Guérin, M. Krein, M. Reinsdorf, and Dr. Lee, as far as Mappo. Dr. Lee, however, insisted upon accompanying me to Chemulpo on the steamer *Chi-Kiang*, a recent enterprise of a German commercial company.

At Chemulpo Commandant Bujard and officers of the French corvette *Le Chasseur* called upon Lee and myself and invited us to dine on board. Returning to our hotel at eleven p.m. after a very pleasant evening, we found awaiting us a delegation from the Japanese Club : M. M. Hayashi, secretary of the Japanese Legation in Seoul,

M. Hashaguchi, Consul, and others. A number of *geisha* dancing-girls, recently imported from Tokio by the Japanese Minister, enlivened the entertainment.

At midday of August 5th (1889) I embarked on the *Higo-Maru* for Chefoo, *en route* to Shanghai, where I proposed to take the steamer of the Messageries Maritime for Marseilles, taking this route that I might stop over in Egypt, and at the same time accomplish the circuit of the globe.

Commandant Bujard, before the sailing of the *Higo*, confided to my care a package of despatches to be delivered to the agent of the Postes Françaises at Shanghai, there being no Department of Posts in Corea.

The *Higo-Maru* arrived at Chefoo on the 6th and at Shanghai on the 9th. Our *compagnons de voyage* had been two Russian officers, returning from Vladivostok to Tiflis, and Dr. Pichon, a French physician, long a resident of Shanghai, who had been visiting Vladivostok for an outing. Dr. Pichon, whom I found a very sympathetic and interesting gentleman, on arrival at Shanghai inscribed me at the Shanghai Club, where I found comfortable, almost luxurious, quarters, compared with those endured in Corea. I was *tiffined* and dined by Dr. Pichon at the Cercle Français, by General Kennedy, U.S. Consul-General, and by several old friends of General Gordon, whose sobriquet of " Chinese Gordon "

had been acquired in Shanghai. Among the members of the club I recall particularly Mr. Wainwright and Mr. Rice, English and American merchants in Shanghai.

The *Yangtsé* of the Messageries Maritimes, commanded by Captain Flandrin, was in port from Yokohama and would sail on the 11th. I made haste to engage passage for Marseilles and the *Yangtsé* left Shanghai promptly on the night of the 11th. We ran into Hong-Kong on the 14th after a stormy voyage, closely followed by a typhoon.

We would remain forty-eight hours in Hong-Kong, and following the suggestion of Captain Flandrin, whom I found a most sympathetic and agreeable companion, we made up a party to visit Canton, consisting of the Russian officers, the Procureur-Général of Annam, a French officer returning to Saigon, and myself. We hastened ashore and embarked upon the steamer *Pa-Wan*, or "Peaceful Protection," which left Hong-Kong every other day at five p.m., returning from Canton at the same hour the following day. At six o'clock the next morning we were at Canton.

Canton,[1] on the left bank of the Chi-Kiang, or Pearl River, is ninety miles from Hong-Kong, and contains a population of 1,500,000 inhabit-

[1] The British threatened Canton in 1841, and extracted a ransom of six million dollars from its merchants. Canton was occupied by the allied French and British forces, December 29th, 1857, and held by them under a Mixed Military Commission during a period of four years.

ants. Besides, there are 150,000 who find habitation in house-boats or sampans, where they literally swarm.

Canton is a curious beehive of industry and art. Ah-Cum, a Cantonese guide, was highly recommended to us by the captain of the *Pa-Wan*, and under his intelligent direction we set forth in sedan chairs to do Canton, not always a safe operation, we were informed, for the European, for whom the Cantonese have a cordial dislike. We visited some curious and interesting places, and saw many things, among these silk-weaving, ivory and sandal-wood carving, lacquer and porcelain wares, rice-paper painting, jade-stone jewellery manufacture, gold and silver working, brass and bronze moulding, glass blowing, flour and rice mills, duck-egg hatching, tea sorting, tobacco cutting, the working-men's guilds, the prisons, etc.

A Chinese merchant, learning from Ah-Cum that we were all officials in our several countries, prevailed upon us to accept tea in his home adjoining his shop. It was a revelation of domestic happiness, comfort, and elegance. The wife and children, to whom we were duly presented, sat with us at table. The tea was exquisite (served always without sugar or milk in the Orient), and the table was laden with sweetmeats, fruits, etc. "You see," said our Amphitryon, speaking good English, "we have no mice, nor rice, no rat, no dog." I confess I winced for

our Occidentals, who understood but little the real life of the Chinaman.

Ah-Cum conducted us to the "Great Flowery Forest Temple of five hundred Genii," a marvel of rich collections and statuary. Among the five hundred genii there was one arrayed in European costume of the thirteenth century. Surprised, I remarked to the guide: "Surely this is not an Oriental?" "No," replied Ah-Cum, "him velly big Mandarin allee same, friend of Kublai Khan; him Mr. Marco Polo!" Fancy, if you may, reader, my astonishment. Marco Polo had sat for several hundred years among the genii, unremarked, and my observation had led to his discovery.

Ah-Cum then led us to Pagoda Street, where he showed us a mosque and minaret with Arab inscriptions, erected A.D. 900, also a tomb, which, he said, contained the bones of a relative of the prophet Mohammed. Thence we proceeded to the "Execution Ground," where the heads of the recently executed were preserved in jars, and thence to the police courts, then in session. The Presiding Justice left his seat when told by Ah-Cum who we were, and approached us with marked courtesy. Several river pirates were being tried for robberies committed. They had been tied up by the thumbs and slapped in the face with a leather paddle. The Justice recounted the accusations, adding that in order to repress the crimes committed by this class of

criminals it was necessary to be severe—that the punishment should fit the crime.

At five p.m. we returned to the *Pa-Wan*, paid Ah-Cum for his services, and cheerfully wrote, at his request, recommendations in his book of references. The American Consul returned my visit, which I had made immediately on arrival.

The *Pa-Wan* left a few minutes after our arrival. A terrific rain and wind storm burst upon the river during the night, so violent, indeed, as to force the steamer to anchor, arriving at Hong-Kong several hours late. We immediately repaired on ship-board, and, refreshed by bath, a change of linen, and coffee, we awaited the cessation of the rain, and then went ashore to see the city and sell our Mexican dollars for French gold, after which we returned to the ship for dinner at six p.m.

The *Yangtsé* left Hong-Kong at midnight of the 15th, arriving at Saigon, the capital of French Cochin-China, on the afternoon of August 19th.

Saigon is a beautiful city, with elegant public and private buildings and a public garden. The streets are bordered with tall palm and cocoa-nut trees, whilst the gardens are filled with the luxuriant banana and other fruit trees. A number of French officers of the army and navy joined us there, returning to France. The ship quitted Saigon at midnight of the 19th, and arrived without incident the 22nd at Singapore, where

a number of passengers, arrived from Manila, awaited the *Yangtsé*. Among these I recall my excellent friend the French Consul at Manila, Count de Pina. On the 27th we were at Colombo.

Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, is a charming city of 100,000 inhabitants, principally Singhalese. Captain Luc, of the French Navy, a fellow-passenger from Saigon, with whom I had become acquainted, accompanied me on shore, and, engaging a Singhalese coachman, we spent the greater part of the night in driving along the admirable roads. We were amazed at the profusion of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, and diamonds, exposed for sale in the numerous shops and stalls, and even by pedlars in the streets. These stones are found in the mountains of Kandy, a few hours distant, and may be purchased very reasonably.

Captain Luc and I returned on ship-board before dawn for a few hours' sleep, but after coffee again went on shore, admonished by Commander Flandrin that we should not stay later than eleven as the steamer would sail promptly at noon. Luc was anxious to visit Arabi Pasha, residing in exile in Ceylon since 1882. It was nine o'clock when our coachman drew rein before the gate of "Elizabeth House." In answer to my summons an Arab servant appeared—his master was asleep, he could not be awakened. I drew from my pocket the familiar talisman, or Arab backsheesh, in the shape of

a silver rupee. "*Hadr, Ya Hadrittak*" ("All right, Your Excellency"), said the Arab, who took the money and ran to the house. In a few moments he reappeared, and, leading us in, bade us be seated. "*El Basha gie delwachti*" ("The Pasha will come presently"). Arabi entered within five minutes, dressed in a white *galabiah*. He was much changed since I had seen him in 1882. . . . It was not until I stepped forward and announced my name, as well as that of my companion, that he recognized me. Arabi was polite, but not cordial. I had published a book[1] (in 1884), in fact, in which I had treated him as an automaton. Arabi, however, quickly relaxed, and graciously sent for *kowah* (coffee) and cigarettes. I said that it was my purpose to stay in Egypt for a few days and would meet many of our mutual friends. *Ibn el belad* (Son of the country) as he was, I could not pass him by in exile without visiting him. . . . Arabi[2] was visibly affected. He seized me by the hand when we arose to go and accompanied us to the door, thanking us for the visit and bidding us God-speed.

The *Yangtsé* sailed promptly at noon (August 28th). On September 3rd we were at Aden, on the 9th at Suez, and, traversing the canal, coaled at night at Port Said. The afternoon

[1] *The Three Prophets*: Gordon, El Mahdi, Arabi. Appleton, N.Y., 1884.

[2] Returned from exile a few years later, Arabi died in Cairo September 21st, 1911.

of the 10th we arrived at Alexandria, where, through the courtesy of Captain Flandrin, I was accorded the privilege of leaving the ship for a brief sojourn in Egypt, with the faculty of resuming the journey to Marseilles by the next steamer of the same company.

Thewfik Khedive was residing at Ras-el-Tin Palace, and, informed of my arrival, he sent Tonino Bey, now Pasha, his master of ceremonies, to say that he would be pleased to receive me in private audience at four o'clock p.m. the following day, September 11th.

The Khedive welcomed me at the appointed hour with much cordiality. I had not seen him since 1883, six years. Thewfik took me by the hand and led me to the divan, where, from the open window, we looked upon the scenes which happened in 1882, and which the Khedive recalled by a gesture, as if to say, "Can it ever be forgotten!" He spoke with unusual freedom of the events that had succeeded the bombardment and the British occupation. He referred to the disaster to Hicks Pasha, the fall of Khartoum and death of Gordon, the defection of Emin, his burlesque rescue, and, finally, the imminent loss of Uganda and the Equatorial Provinces. Thewfik recounted to me in detail the interview with General Gordon returning to the Soudan in 1884. "I told him that he had provoked the insurrection of the Mahdi, and that if he persisted in going he would never return.

I said, besides, that he had made offensive remarks about me which I could never forgive." Remarking my look of surprise, Thewfik answered: "*Gordon had said that I was an idiot and unfit to sit on the throne of Mohammed-Ali!*" The Khedive arose from the divan, and, shaking from angry emotion, and with tears in his eyes, paced to and fro before me. "Gordon," resumed Thewfik, "pleaded that I would forgive the speech, but I declared I could not. I told him also that you had written me proffering your services to return to the Soudan, but I had refused on the ground that the movement was entirely religious,[1] and that no Christian should be sent, that it would only add fuel to the flame."

Then the Khedive asked abruptly: "Why did not the Government at Washington send you to Egypt as Consul-General in place of Corea?" I regarded Thewfik for a moment in silence, and, convinced of his sincerity, I answered: "Because, Monseigneur, when my friends asked that I should be sent to Egypt in recognition of my services here to the Government of the United States and to Egypt, your Minister, Nubar, through Lord Sackville-West, then British Minister at Washington, declared to the President of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, that I was *persona non grata* to you, the Khedive." Thewfik leaped to his feet, and, with ill-suppressed excitement, paced up and down.

[1] *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues.* See note p. 190.

" You cannot believe," said he, " that I could have so far forgotten the services you have rendered Egypt and to me personally! I am a prisoner, and Khedive only in name. . . . What can I do but submit? Egypt is no longer under the protection of Europe. France abandoned Egypt at Alexandria. . . ."

Much more was said in this strain. Finally, when the Khedive had regained his composure, I said: " Monseigneur, there is a way to change all that; the Soudan is the means by which you can regain complete control of Egypt. Zobair Pasha is the manifest authority in the Soudan, and his return to Khartoum would be the signal for the complete overthrow of the Mahdi. When Your Highness is ready to send Zobair, send for me, I will go with him and show him how to convert the Soudan into a great granary and military depot which will assure the absolute freedom of Egypt." . . . The Khedive shook my hand with grateful emotion, and, repeating frequently " Inshallah! Inshallah!" he expressed the wish that I would return and make Egypt my permanent home, and I bade him adieu.

I went to Cairo by the night express to meet, by appointment, a number of old and attached friends, who desired to renew their grateful remembrance of the aid extended them in the drama enacted in 1882.

Returning to Alexandria on September 14th,

I embarked the same day on *La Gironde*, and on the 19th arrived in Marseilles, and on the following morning in Paris.

During my two weeks' sojourn in Paris I visited frequently the Exposition of 1889. On October 5th I resumed my journey westward from Havre by *La Bourgogne* of the Cie. Transatlantique. Among my fellow-passengers were the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Robert McLane, of Maryland, Mr. Bjorkstin, a talented tenor, and others, whose association contributed much to the pleasure of the voyage. The *Bourgogne* arrived in New York on the 13th, and on the 14th I was in Washington, thus completing the tour of the world, including an official residence of two years in Corea, or the " Chosen Land."

In Washington I called to offer my respects to President Harrison. The President had a cousin, a missionary lady, in Corea, who was among those who had constituted themselves, unwittingly, of course, the agents of Russian intrigues. The President made no allusion to the service I had rendered American interests in Corea, for which I had received the thanks and approval of the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine. I mentioned this lack of appreciation on the part of the President, with some surprise, to my friend Mr. William Walter Phelps, then Member of Congress. Mr. Phelps laughed sarcastically, muttered something about icebergs, etc., and asked, " Have you seen Mr. Blaine ? " " No,"

I replied. "You will hear from him shortly," he added. And, in fact, I received a message from Mr. Blaine to call to see him at the Department the next day.

Mr. Blaine received me with marked cordiality, and, remembering the incident referred to in his letter (Dip. Series, No. 108), thanked me for the "service on that occasion which had averted a scandal."

In the conversation which ensued, I dwelt upon the unfortunate policy of the United States in following the lead of Russia in setting up Corea as an independent State. Russia was using the United States, that is, the inexperience and even *naïveté* of the American Minister and the American missionaries, as cat's paws to pull chestnuts out of the fire for Russia, and I added, "that it seemed to me that our interests in China were of far greater value than the obtaining by a coterie of individuals of concessions to work Corean gold mines, which might be profitable for the coterie, but of no interest whatever to the United States Government. We had offended China, broken in upon her traditions, and provoked the ambitions and jealousies of both China and Japan, which, in some way not then clear, would result in a conflict."[1] "Would I return to Corea?" asked the Secretary. "No," I answered. "But what," he rejoined, "if there should be a change of policy?" I replied laugh-

[1] *The Sino-Japanese War*, 1894.

ingly: "I fear there will be no change, Mr. Secretary. The President seems greatly interested in Corea, and instructed by his missionary friends and relations in that country, he believes that Corea is seriously a nation. Corea, in my modest opinion, is yet a savage people, and our better interests in China should have allowed her to remain undisturbed under the suzerainty of China."

My interview with Mr. Blaine was most pleasant and agreeable, and, in mentioning it to Mr. Phelps, he remarked: "If Mr. Blaine were only President you would go back to Corea as Minister, or go anywhere else you might desire. . . ." December 6th Mr. Blaine accepted my resignation, "with expressions of regret for the loss of my valuable services."[1] Mr. Blaine evidently had but "little influence with the Administration"; a situation, indeed, not unlike that of Mr. Thomas Hendricks in 1885, an impotent factor in the Administration of that period.

[1] "DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"WASHINGTON, *December 6th*, 1889.

"Chas. Chaillé-Long, Esq., &c. &c. &c.,
"Washington.

"SIR,—Your communication of the 5th instant tendering your resignation as Secretary of the United States Legation at Seoul, Corea, is received.

"In accepting your resignation the Department can but express its regret to be deprived of your valuable services.—I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

Having retired voluntarily from the Diplomatic Service, I recalled the Khedive's urgent invitation to return to Egypt. I concluded to renew there the practice of Law before the International Courts, which I had been obliged to abandon to assume provisional direction of the U.S. Consulate in 1882.

CHAPTER XIX

MR. HENRY M. STANLEY was in New York in the autumn of 1886, about to undertake a lecture tour, when suddenly there was a cry from London: "Emin Pasha, the Faithful Doctor, is lost in Central Africa." This was followed by another cry: "Stanley to the rescue!" A despatch from Sir William Mackinnon, President of the East African Association, decided Stanley that there was more money in looking for a man who was not lost than in lecturing—he had tried it before and published a book, entitled *How I found Dr. Livingstone*, who was not lost, but was found living quietly in Ujiji. . . . Sir William Mackinnon put up £30,000, which sum was further augmented by an advance from the Egyptian Treasury.

I was a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Star* in 1886–7 when Stanley was in that city, and, fully informed of the object of this burlesque rescue expedition, I denounced it as such publicly, and, taxing its prospective chief with insincerity, challenged him to deny my statements, which he did not do then, but he denied them later in Cairo.

Having added the Equatorial Provinces to Egypt, which Emin, it was certain, proposed to sell to the first buyer by virtue of his firman of Egyptian Governor-General, I addressed an open letter to Thewfik Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, thus :—

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"The series of seizures of Egyptian territories accomplished since 1882 should put us on guard against the acts of this pretended expedition for the succour of Emin, who, after the latest news, said, 'I am in perfect health and in no danger or want whatsoever.' I invite the attention of Your Highness to the fact that the Stanley Expedition can have no other object than to take from Egypt the Provinces of the Equator and the Nile Basin, which I annexed to the Khedivial Crown. I protest, therefore, in the name of Egypt, against this premeditated rapt."

In Cairo Stanley was shown the above publications by the correspondent of the London *Daily News*. "Have you seen these?" said he. "No, I have not," Stanley replied; "I would not take the trouble. It is not worthy of notice. I attribute his writing it to love of notoriety, eccentricity, and perhaps jealousy. Ha! ha! the idea of my going on behalf of the British East Africa to rob Egypt of her Equatorial Provinces! Why, they are not worth having under the present circumstances. Also we are

not in the service of the East Africa Association."

Nevertheless, *Stanley had in his pocket, incredible as it may appear, when he left London, not only his instructions from the East Africa Association, the* £30,000 *which was the price of Emin's treachery to Egypt, but the promise that he was to be Governor-General of the Egyptian Provinces, which were to be connected with the British East Africa Association.*

On May 3rd, 1888, he had come up with Emin on the shores of the Lake Albert Nyanza, where he made Emin three propositions, which are cited from Stanley's book :—

" 1st. That Emin, continuing to be the obedient soldier he had always been, can return with me to Egypt, and he and his soldiers will be paid.

" 2nd. The second proposition comes from His Majesty Leopold, King of the Belgians, who has authorized me (Stanley) to inform him (Emin) that in order to prevent the Provinces from relapsing into barbarism, His Majesty Leopold decided to allow him £1500 sterling as Governor, with the grade of General, provided the revenues of the Provinces would be sufficient to permit the Congo Free State to undertake these exploitations within the limit of ten to twelve thousand pounds to be spent yearly. In such case Emin's duty would be to keep open communications between the Nile and Congo

and to maintain law and order in the Egyptian Provinces.

" 3rd. The third proposition is thus. If you (Emin) are convinced that your soldiers will refuse to follow you to Egypt, you may come with as many soldiers who will follow you to the N.E. of Lake Victoria, where I will establish you in the name of the East African Association. We will aid you to construct a fortress. We will leave you our boats and other necessary accessories."

" Emin hesitated," says Stanley (of course he hesitated; he was waiting for the price of his treason). Finally, Stanley, " furious because of his hesitation," pulled from his pocket several letters, which would hasten Emin's decision. And now, after all tergiversation, the truth is confessed in *In Darkest Africa*, page 393 :—

" *I showed Emin,*" writes Stanley, " *the printed Foreign Office despatches furnished to me by order of Lord Iddesleigh. Among these was a copy of a letter from Emin to Sir John Kirke, wherein he offered the Province, in* 1886, *to England, and stated he would be most happy to surrender the Provinces over to England, or to any other, etc.*

" ' *Ah,*' *said the Pasha,* ' *they should never have published this letter. It was private. What will the Egyptian Government think of my conduct in venturing to treat of such matters?* ' "

On another page of *In Darkest Africa* Stanley recites the contents of Emin's letter to Sir John

Kirke, in which Emin offered to turn over the Provinces to England before he had obtained the authority of the Khedive, and Stanley adds: "*The publication of that letter had vexed Emin very much, because it seemed to accuse him of an intention to betray the Government which he was said to be serving with so much fidelity. In place of finding himself face to face with an English agent, furnished with powers to treat with him for the giving up of the Provinces to the English Government and to name him Governor under its Administration, he was informed that the Egyptian Government, acting under the counsel of the British representative in Cairo (Sir Evelyn Baring), had seized the occasion to say to him he could retire from the Equator with the troops which were willing to follow him.*"

Such corroboration of my public denunciations of the "Burlesque Rescue of Emin" was wholly unexpected, nor would such confession have been made, it was said, except that the German friends of Emin charged that there had been chicanery in dealing with Emin, and even foul play, alluding to the fall from the window of the house in Bagamoyo. "Emin," they said, "would publish a book and tell the whole story." Stanley, thus placed between Scylla and Charybdis, had no other resource but to make the confession in his book *In Darkest Africa*, which is sufficiently condemnatory of both Emin and Stanley, and requires no comment.

Emin, it should be added, recovered from the accident at Bagamoyo, hastened to return to the Central African Provinces, but his troops had lost confidence in him and refused to receive him. He then journeyed towards the West Coast, where he proposed to enter the service of the German colonists. Ill-luck would have it that he fell in with an Arab caravan, the chief of which had been badly abused by the former Egyptian Governor-General. Emin, for a fact, had practised polygamy freely in Africa, and on one occasion had seized the favourite concubine, a black savage woman, from this Arab chief and had taken her for his wife. The Arab chief, with whom the *lex talionis* was a part of his religion, as well as Emin's, suspended Emin by the feet from the limb of a tree and caused his throat to be cut. And thus died Emin Pasha, misnamed "The Faithful."

A book was published by Mr. Scott Keltie, Mr. Stanley's news-agent, entitled *The Story of Emin's Rescue as told by H. M. Stanley's Letters.* It contained a letter purporting to be addressed "Col. I. A. Grant, C.B.," by Stanley, who takes Sir Samuel Baker to task with the manifest purpose of depreciating the value of Sir Samuel's discovery of Lake Albert, and refers in these words to Gordon's Chief-of-Staff: "Apropos of the error of Baker, Emin Pasha related to me a curious scene which he witnessed between Gordon and one of his Staff Officers,

who had been despatched on a mission to Uganda and who, on returning reported that he had discovered a large lake between Lake Albert and Lake Victoria," etc. Briefly resumed, a fantastic story of a fantastic conversation with Gordon, to discredit the discovery of Lake Ibrahim, and ridicule and cast doubt upon the existence of such a lake, in which there is introduced a fantastic cartographer—the whole story an absurd invention without a scintilla of truth. *Gordon's Chief-of-Staff never in all his life saw Emin Pasha, nor ever had any communication with him, being absent on the east coast of Africa long before Emin's arrival and service with Gordon;* a fact quite well known to Stanley, Grant, and Keltie. But, then, Gordon's former Chief-of-Staff was in far-distant Corea. . . .

Gordon, besides, had long before reported the discovery of Lake Ibrahim in the most eulogistic terms to the Egyptian Government.

In this connection, the reader's attention is invited to the change of the date of the discovery of Lake Ibrahim from 1874 to 1875 on Ravenstein's map, reproduced in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.

This change of date was made on the plate, naturally, by the authority of M. Ravenstein, and my attention was invited thereto by a geographer, who interpreted it as an effort to make it appear that the discovery of the lake was in 1875 (and not in 1874), and consequently

subsequent to Stanley, the latter having frequently referred to my mission to Uganda as *subsequent* to his expedition.

It would seem that sufficient has been said to show the falsifications attempted, and the motives of Mr. Stanley. Nevertheless, I have under my eye in writing a line of appreciation of Stanley by Mr. Geo. C. Hurlbut,[1] the learned and excellent geographer and librarian of the American Geographical Society of New York. Mr. Hurlbut was always conservative, even-tempered and just. He wrote :—

" The descent of the Congo is his (Stanley's) real title to fame; in his later achievement many things have a dubious aspect. The energy and the endurance are the same, but the heroic stamp is gone. He is jealous of other explorers, and praises none but subordinates and his Zanzibaris. There are implied professions of devotion to an ideal and of generous purpose, and, with these, utterances abounding in unworthy suggestions. . . .

" Stanley concluded somewhat hastily that he had made the acquaintance of all the bays and inlets of the Victoria Nyanza. He reaffirmed his conclusions seven years later in his work about the Congo, but he discovered on his last expedition a vast extension of the lake toward the south-west, an extension which advances the

[1] Mr. George C. Hurlbut was killed in an automobile accident which occurred December 25th, 1909.

shore of the lake in that direction seventy-four miles. This fact is not to be overlooked, because it is significant of a mental habit in Stanley, namely, *exaggeration*, and the reporter's desire to tell a good story, which is always to be detached in his accounts of his own performances."

In a letter to me referring to Colonel Grant's letter in the London *Times* of January 30th, 1876, my friend Sir Richard Burton said :—

"You will have no chance of public recognition for your great part of the work in the solution of the Nile source problem. You have Grant against you, who hates his idol to be touched by a hand profane. The R.G.S. will be interested in anything you do about Corea, but they will not have Africa stirred up."

Here is Grant's letter which Burton sent me. It will give some idea of the feeling stirred up in the Royal Geographical Society over the annexation of Uganda and the discovery of Lake Ibrahim. The date is January 30th, 1876 :—

"To the Editor of the London *Times*.

"The letter in the *Times* of to-day on Colonel Gordon's position with the Khedive of Egypt hits the mark exactly. The chief object of his return is the annexation of the Victoria Nyanza. All who know Colonel Gordon must feel the highest confidence in his administrative power; but what will become of the country as soon as he leaves it ?

"On this ground I would strongly protest against the occupation of any portion of this lake by the Khedive, as, if it be annexed, it would remain a thorn in the side of civilization, and immensely increase the difficulties in the suppression of slavery.

"The Lake Victoria was discovered by Speke and myself. It has been circumnavigated by Stanley and covers 40,000 square miles. Its shores are rich, fertile, and populous. The English flag was the first to be planted there. The trade from it has never passed down the Nile, but always to the East Coast of Africa as the most accessible market. Why should the Khedive possess it as well as the Albert lake? It is two thousand miles from his capital, and one-third of this distance is merely a water route through tribes rendered inhospitable by traders in slaves.

"M'tesa, the King of Uganda, on the north of the lake, and his officers are, in reality, more civilized than the Government which is attempting their civilization, and would derive no benefit whatever from the change. Indeed, I think, honestly, it would be a sinful proceeding to allow them to be placed under the yoke of Egypt, for it would result in the debasement or destruction of a brave, intelligent people.

"The noble endeavours being made by Christian societies are ripening for the good of the races in Central Africa, and would be thwarted and opposed by the Mohammedan element.

"J. A. GRANT."

Stanley, as conquering hero, arrived in Cairo *en route* to Europe in the autumn of 1890. The Khedive Thewfik was told that he must decorate him for this most questionable service to Egypt, and he conferred upon him the Grand Cordon of the Medjidieh plus £10,000. The Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire bestowed upon him its best diploma. The Government tendered him a banquet, which cost in round numbers six hundred Egyptian guineas. After the epic and Homeric poetry and prose that followed, Stanley arose, and, after a long speech in English, accused the Egyptian Government of meanness in not giving him more than a miserable £10,000 for the deliverance of an Egyptian Pasha! The Egyptian Government thereupon added another £10,000—that is, £20,000!

The story of Emin Pasha—the true story of Emin—has never been told, and perhaps may never be told, but, so far as I know it, and it differs widely from the popular conception, I should relate the story thus, because it is the complement of the so-called "rescue."

Edward Schnitzler, a German Israelite, born in Silesia and brought from Constantinople, was mysteriously passed up to Khartoum in 1876. Nubar Pasha, it is said, employed him, and this fact appears significant to those who were aware of Nubar's hatred of General Gordon. However that may be, Schnitzler arrived in Khartoum, where he was employed by Gordon.

A few months later Gordon sent him to Fatiko, where he promoted him Mudir and Bey. Schnitzler gave a *fantasiah* to fête his promotion, and seized the occasion to change his faith in Israel to Islam, changing also his name from Schnitzler to Emin Hakim, or the "Faithful Doctor."

I met Gordon in Cairo after my return from the East Coast expedition, but, singularly enough, he never mentioned the apostate Mudir, for whom I had been told he had conceived unutterable disgust. Later, when Gordon was retired, in 1879 Emin was promoted to the pashalik (on the recommendation of Nubar), and was installed at Lado, where he commanded 1500 Soudanese armed with Remington rifles, and having two steamers armed and equipped for offensive operations on the river.

General Gordon's successor was not a soldier; that the responsibility of the functions of a commanding officer should have been imposed upon the man was remarkable. Emin manifestly was of that mind, for almost immediately on his accession to authority over the Egyptian Provinces in 1879, he opened up communication with the British East Africa Association and the King of Belgium with the object of selling them to the highest bidder. This speculative proposition, based upon Emin's firman, was perfectly well known to General Gordon, through His Majesty King Leopold, as early as 1879. Absent from Egypt, I learned of it only in 1886.

The singular phase of the Emin comedy was that, although Emin was at Lado with this serious military force from 1879 to 1888, and consequently during the seige of Khartoum, there was never a word from Nubar, Sir Evelyn, or anyone about utilizing it for the relief rescue of Gordon. Why? I asked the question a hundred times in 1884. Was it because Gordon preferred death rather than rescue by his apostate Mudir, this faithless Emin, who would have sold for shekels the Egyptian Provinces, which had cost Gordon years of suffering and sacrifice to establish?

Whilst making preparations for return to Egypt, I was proffered the position as agent for France of the "Brown Wire-wound Gun," which I would submit to the French Government whilst in France.

On July 16th, 1890, I married Miss Marie Amélie Hammond, the daughter of the late General John Hammond, of Crown Point, N.Y., ex-Member of Congress from Essex Co., and formerly the Colonel of the 5th N.Y. Cavalry, whose sobriquet of the "Fighting Fifth" had been won under the command of Colonel Hammond. Married at Crown Point, we made a brief tour to Montreal, the St. Lawrence, and Quebec, and, returning to New York, sailed, by the Red Star steamer *Westernland*, for Antwerp, whence we went to Trouville and Honfleur. At Honfleur we were installed, during several weeks, at the

Hôtel La Ferme St. Simeon, situated near the old church of Notre Dame de Grâce. There I met M. Toutain, Vice-President of La Société Normande de Géographie de Rouen, and several old acquaintances. Among these, M. Jehan Soudan, formerly connected with the press in Paris, also the Princess Ratazzi, whom I had met many years before in Paris as the Princess Bonaparte, returned from exile after the fall of the Empire.

CHAPTER XX

IN Paris I received a letter from Sir Richard Burton, known to me familiarly as "Dick Burton." The letter, dated September 20th, begged me to come to Trieste and go thence to Egypt, "that it was little, if at all, out of the way, and that he, as well as 'Isabel' (Lady Burton), was anxious to make the acquaintance of my wife." I was seriously considering the proposition to join him and Lady Burton, when a despatch from Trieste, October 20th, announced Burton's sudden death.

Burton was the prince of African explorers, a noble soul for whom I had a special attachment. His death caused me inexpressible pain. Dr. Abbate Pasha, the sympathetic President of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire, of which Burton was an honorary member, said of him, in an obituary notice, in the Bulletin of the Society :—

"*Burton n'avait jamais adopté que les idées les plus indépendantes et les plus hardies : il se faisait remarquer par sa superiorité intellectuelle, son caractère élevé, son esprit fin, sensé et élégant, libre avec respect et mésure. Il est regrettable en effet que cet homme quoique d'un caractère re-*

marquablement droit, sûr, fidèle, indepéndant sans rudesse ni bruit, doux et bienveillant au fond, malgré le piquant mélange d'exigences et de malices que comportaient ses jugements et son langage ait pu être en mésintelligence avec quelques compagnons de voyage et d'exploits."

The fact is, Burton had been badly treated by Speke and Grant, and hence his *mésintelligence* with them. Burton always claimed that Speke, his subordinate, had acted without his authority and had taken advantage of his illness to leave him, and take from him the honour of the discovery of the Lake Tanganyika, which belonged to Burton as chief of the expedition. Burton's characteristic was loyalty, sincerity, with a horror of hypocrisy and cant. The Royal Geographical Society held him in little favour because of his independent and critical speech. Like Gordon and Baker, Burton was not liked by the *conies* of the R.G.S.

Burton at twenty-one was a lieutenant in the 18th Infantry in Bombay. There it was he laid the foundation of his future fame in Oriental letters, by the acquisition of Hindustani, Guzerati, Persian, Marathi, Sindhi, Telugu, Afghan, Armenian, Turkish, Arabic. To these should be added a number of African idioms. He not only spoke the foregoing languages and several European tongues, but understood their literature.

Returned from his celebrated journey to Mecca, Burton found his vocation gone and himself

without means. He was a splendid swordsman and a perfect master of bayonet fencing, then unknown in the British Army. With the idea of improving his circumstances, he wrote and published a manual of bayonet-fighting. A few years afterward it became the text-book of the Army, and he was authorized to draw upon the War Office for the sum of *one shilling*. The story sounds like a bad joke, but it is a fact. Sir Richard drew the shilling, and, instead of wearing it at his watch-chain as a memorial of the gratitude of his Government, gave it to a beggar. In spite of the conies of the R.G.S., who despised him, he was finally appointed H.B.M.'s Consul at Trieste, the salary of which enabled him to live mdoestly.

I have fortunately preserved a few of Burton's letters (many being lost in the conflagration in Alexandria),[1] and I insert them here as having an interest for the reader, who may thus know intimately this most distinguished African traveller and genius. I quote the letters *verbatim et literatim* :—

" *Private.* TRIESTE, *May 20th*, 1879.

" MY DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,

" I returned to my blessed Consulate in April last, and read the address you kindly sent me. . . . No use to talk about the changes in

[1] Burton, in letters lost at Alexandria (1882), had urged the author to join him in a gold-hunting expedition to the Juba. In that connection we would take the Comoro Islands.

From the painting by Lord Leighton, now in the National Portrait Gallery

Richard F. Burton

الحاج عبدالله

Egypt. You must know them as well as I do, and better. . . . My business hangs fire. I send you a pamphlet which will tell you the whole state of things. I have got men and funds already in England, but I want some security that the *affaire* (should it turn out profitable) will be left in my hands, not transferred to those of *M. Qui que ce soit.*

" If you have an idle moment, let me hear what you are doing. I propose at the first opportunity attacking the Juba River, where I shall have to quote you pretty often.

" Why does not some American, returning to America, strike out a new line by praising England ? . . . You are all wrong about Deloncle and Lopez, they only copied, and often miscopied. Ptolemy, see p. 30 read cranes for swans.

" You Republicans want a little more dignity, complaint shows weakness. If I were one of you, I should take the line of patronizing England, patting her on the back, treating her as a good old lady who had carried a good family in her day, and must be carefully laid up in lavender. However, *chacun à son goût.* Write me, my dear Long.

" Am v. sincerely,

" R. F. Burton."

" Tell me where Deloncle got his information about the eight Dominicans. The idea of a city ! Deloncle (page 18) reads painfully like an invention. Thanks for your kind notice of my work. *Vive valeque !* (B.)

"TRIESTE CONSULATE,
"*June 14th*, 1879.

"MY DEAR CHAILLÉ,

"I want your express permission to quote from your book all you say about Ticki-Ticki, and to republish the portrait of that lady, should my publishers desire it. In my next book, the *Gold Mines of Midian*, I shall have a long appendix upon the subject of 'Akkas'—by the way, ought not the word to be Ake? A certain Abbé Settram has just published (Ital. Geog. Soc.) a grammar and vocabulary of the language, which I find to be *South African*, and I am translating it. We have here a Ticki-Ticki girl brought by Gessi,[1] and I hope soon to see Miani's Akkas at Verona.

"Don't you think it possible that there are many different tribes of these dwarfs speaking as many different languages? Can you tell me anything about Sefer Pacha's Akka[2] whom he brought to Austria for the purpose of showing her to the Empress?

"I don't hear much about Cairo, except that Middleton has left and that the weather has been very hot. Here we have had a furious burst of summer, but to-day there is wind and rain. My plans are to go to England in early August and to watch any turn closely, so as to be ready

[1] The girl alluded to "as brought by Gessi" was brought to Bor Chambe by an Arab party, and mentioned by the author in his volume *Central Africa, Naked Truths*.

[2] Sefer Pasha's Akka was the author's specimen, confided to Sefer and Brugsch Pashas, by the Khedive, and sent on a trip to Vienna by the Khedive.

for all contingencies. Book is ready, but will probably not appear till next autumn. The war has quite ruined the trade, and publishers have been losing hand over hand. Remember me most kindly to the General and to L. and Colston. Take care of yourself.

"Believe me ever,

"Yours most sincerely,

"R. F. BURTON."

"TRIESTE, *August 26th*, 1879.

"*Ya 'l Pasha!*

"I have been wanting to write to you and answer your June 11th for many weeks, and the hour has now come. Let us begin by business.

"1st. What have you done with your MS. 'Notes on the Juba River'? I am likely to be that way before long; is it quite impossible for you to make a run? You know May is the best time. Then the April storm is passed. The Seyyid has offered me a steamer, etc.

"2nd. Won't you tell me where you took your quotation from? Dcloncle, Paris Geographical, Society or Lyons? His supporters' names are good, but all are Frenchmen. A few years ago they claimed the discovery of the Guinea coast long before the Portuguese, but we have compelled them to give that up. And now to answering yours. You know that my three pet abominations are: that Royal Trinity Cobden (a woman), Bright (a fighting Quaker), and Gladstone (an evangelist). These *laissez aller, laissez*

passer. . . . The said Oliphant,[1] you know, has pitched often and often into me, and perhaps worse than into you, that I never deigned to notice him (in print). I like him in private; he is now gone to Syria about a concession, a colony, a new jury. As for Colonel Grant. . . . As regards Stanley, he was probably pitched into by—. The R.G.S. (Royal Geog. Society) is mostly managed by an intriguing set, and Grant and Sieur, G. (?) being on the Council, would print what they liked with the apparent authority of the society, which knows nothing about it.

"But what you tell me of Gordon (private) is new and decidedly important. It suggests that your *friends* have been working the 'offices' in England, and that thus they were able to be nasty. Another time pitch as hard as you can into the other clique of Philistines, which is the curse of England, and let me say, of America, '*Parlons d'autres choses*.'

"No man who knows the East is astonished at anything. So what has happened in Egypt will not have surprised you. I am only sorry for poor dear McKillop's death. When friends ask me what is doing in Egypt, I merely tell them that no human power can divine what will occur there next week. Once upset Oriental stability, and you have a ton of Scottish quick-silver to manage instead of lead. I have not seen Sefer Pasha this summer. . . . I shall hope to do

[1] Laurence Oliphant had "pitched into" the author in an article in the *N.A. Review*, because he had dared criticize the methods employed by the British East Africa Association in Africa. Oliphant was ridiculed for his geographical conclusions, which were ridiculously absurd.

much with the mines of Midian. My start will be about end of November. I want something in the concession line before advising my friends to risk their coin. Of course, there will be a tremendous amount of intrigue, but that can't be prevented. Many thanks for your good opinion of my wife's book and my own. Have they been republished in the States? Where is Middleton? Stone, Mitchell, and Purdy are the only relics in Egypt, and they won't stay long. I saw Mr. de Leon at Dublin. Do send me a line.

"Ev. y——,

"R. F. BURTON.

"P.S.—A year or so ago I wrote a long letter about inscriptions in U.S. to Judge Daly, who never answered me, and probably never received it."

"TRIESTE, *October 15th*, 1879.

"*Effendum!*

"Yours of September 14th has just reached. I lose no time to answer. Gordon has just written to me, and is apparently going home. Thanks for your action *in re* Deloncle. Let me do Midian this winter and then I am ready for anything you please, from a Sultanate to a shipwreck. At Comoros we should have the French down upon us, but *n'importe*. Do you know Junley or Johannah? But what about your office? $4000 are not to be had in a day! We must think of that.

"I want this winter for the mines, and then I shall have done with them in favour of Zanzi-

bar. A man showed me some good quartz at Zanzibar, which he said came from the Juba. I did not publish anything about it; *and the secret is between us foi de gentilhomme. The Sultan would assist us, and we might make that the base of future proceedings.*

"Remember me most warmly to de Leon and his wife. I met the latter at Dublin, but was too sick and seedy to call. Now my health is first-rate, thanks to long walks, fencing, and exercise generally. How are you in that line? Are your notes on the Juba very extensive?

"*Push Alcock about changing the name of your lake, which is an indecency.* There are ceremonies (?) amongst explorers, or there ought to be. Write again, my dear L., and with united best regards, believe me,

"Your friend,

"R. F. BURTON

"Read about Madagascar in Proceedings R. Geog. Soc. Oct. '79."

"TRIESTE, *January* 4th, 1883.

"MY DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"I don't think that we can make any arrangement about the Juba and Zanzibar till you have done your work in Louisiana (?). Only let me know when it is done and you return to Europe. My movements are pretty well determined on unless it please the Devil in the Foreign Office to put a spoke in my wheel. I shall be here with variations till end of next summer, and then go

to England in order to push the Gold Coast mines.

"Gildchand (?), poor fellow, died a couple of years ago. I saw him about *gold* on his return to Zanzibar. He used to wander about in a very quiet way, and wrote little. I don't think he went far up the Juba, but he spoke of seeing gold quartz there. I have not heard his report confirmed, but, then, who is there to confirm it?

"Stanley has awfully mixed the Brazza business, and has taken some trouble to ruin it. Brazza has completely won the day, and Stanley has compromised, not only himself, but his employers. Don't forget a line to me before you start, and —— damn old S.

"Ev. y.,

"R. F. BURTON."

"TRIESTE, *April 6th*, 1886.

"MY DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"Yours of March 19th has just reached me. I have been straying. Very glad that you keep touch of me, as we are sure to meet some day on Nile bank. No chance of my forgetting you. I quite agree in all you say about Gordon's reported death. No need of my re-reading him. I have worked up the whole affair. Don't believe a word of it, and told the public so in my review of his book for *The Academy*. They, Kitchener and others—I met Kitchener in London after ten years—have proved, as you say, too much. The vulgar idea is that Gordon

would have never quitted Khartoum alive; but he was an exceptional man and not to be judged by the normal standard, and he had an exceptional temper, which may make him lie *perdu* for years on the *ingrata patria* principle. Mr. Philister and Mrs. Grundy have done their best to ruin his reputation by bringing him down to their low level (I have protested against this); but you and I know better. I am told that his family also has considerable doubts concerning his death. Time alone can set matters right. I saw Stanley once, and at first did not recognize him; his hair, formerly white, had turned a fine glossy black, but he has done work which should not make him ashamed of *la grisaille*. I shall be in London about June 15th. Any chance of seeing you there? My wife joins me in kindest regards and best wishes; don't let us lose touch of one another.

"Ev. Y. Most sincerely,

"R. F. BURTON."

The following is a letter from Burton to the press on the Emin relief expedition:—

"On the present occasion the avowed object was to 'rescue Emin Pasha,' who has *distinctly* and *determinedly declared* that *he did not need to be rescued;* but Stanley's real object was to divert the ivory trade from the long and expensive Zanzibar route to a cheap and safe water-way. The Congo idea was excellent. By this means Belgium would recoup the millions wasted on expeditions and stations. Zanzibar also, under

those unprejudiced annexationists, our cousins-German, could have the sole profit of slave exportation, nor would a Teuton of them all raise a hand against what brings grist to the mill.

" Stanley has thus by one touch of his magic wand, converted the Congo Free State, the happy man-hunting grounds of Tippoo Tib and his merry Swahili men, absurdly named Arabs, into the Congo Slave State, *par excellence.*

" The great slave mines are now transferred from Unyamuezi country in the old Mountains of the Moon to the Upper Congo. These fresh diggings remain to be explored. Tippoo Tib is made Governor (God save mark !) of these new slave reserves at a salary of £300 per annum, where he can easily make £300,000 a year and where his followers are pretty sure to shoot him if he should talk any nonsense about abolition of the slave trade.

" You must not expect to hear any truths of this kind in England, where the tyrannical opinions of society subdue even the boldest spirit. A well-known Administrator who was sent to the Congo, after a careful inquiry, found Mohammedanism a grand and saving fact, and set down the Christian missionary as an utter humbug, in all except being a doughty explorer, a laborious and useful linguist, and an able collector of other men's money.

" The Administrator goes home fully resolved to state the facts uncompromisingly before the public of Great Britain, but, although the Administrator is an honest man, the influence of mediocre society ideas came trooping back

into his brain, and so far from stating the fact, he stands up and declares that the missionaries are the cream of creation and the gospel is overspreading the land, while, if he mentions Islam, it is in a patronizing tone, as if the Mohammedans were mere cooks. This allows the unfortunate public no chance of learning the truth.

"The narrator must be honest and honourable, but he dare not state the facts, nor has he the courage of his own opinions. If he did society would turn upon him with its usual, 'Oh, we never mention him,' and his name never would be heard unless accompanied by a snarl or sneer. The fact is, England's chronic disease is religiosity in the few and hypocrisy in the many.

"RICHARD F. BURTON.

"Hôtel Meurice, Paris, *July* 18*th*, 1888."

"HÔTEL NATIONAL, GENEVA,
"*November* 4*th*, 1888.

"MY DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"Many thanks for a good long letter, dated last August, which has at length found me. The *White Pasha* may still be Gordon. It is *aut* Emin *aut* Stanley. As regards the latter, you, of course, understand that I do not admire him as a man or a geographer, but as one who has been Fortune's favourite, and who has done for Africa what none of us have succeeded in doing, has bisected the Continent, and has given a new base whereupon to operate north and south. *Voilà!*

" You will have no chance of public recognition for your great part of the work in the solution of the Nile Source problem. You have Grant against you, who hates his idol to be touched by a hand profane, and the miserable X refuses your *Three Prophets* because it does not chime in with English ignorance. The R.G.Soc. will be interested in anything you do about Corea, but they will not have Africa stirred up. I still trust that Stanley is alive, but am almost certain that, as usual, he will not bring back a single white man. His committee seems to have bad news about him, but they do nothing beyond humbugging and blindfolding the public.

" I do not quite understand what you propose to do in Corea, especially as the temper of the people seems to be adverse to trading and other industry. But I am delighted to read that you think of a return to civilization, and that there is a chance of our meeting again. We shall be in Switzerland till March next, and then will go to Verona (Lombardy), Trieste, Athens, and back again to Austria for the summer. Let me hear from you when your plans are well worked up. My wife joins me in many salaams and the best of wishes.

" Ev. Yr. sincere friend,

" R. F. Burton."

"CONSULATE, TRIESTE,
"*September 9th*, 1890.

"MY DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"Very glad to see your fist once more and pleased to read your papers. You have indeed hit the nail on the head. Lately I met H. M. S. and his wife at Maloja, Engadine, and like her very much. He was still in poor health, and I thought somewhat depressed preparing for his lectures in the States. He is to give 50 and if possible 100, Major Pond being the impresario. What the deuce have you been doing in Corea? Making money, I hope. When you are settled in Egypt, please send me a line. I was choked off the mines of Midian by the idiot who made over the country to the Turks, and I know the Turks too well ever to do biz with them. You will find Nile Valley wonderfully altered and the keeper in full possession. My wife joins in kindest remembrances.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"R. F. BURTON.

"P.S.—Can't you pass through Trieste *en route* for Egypt? There is a bedroom for you. I want to talk over your Stanley article in *The Republic*.[1] Nothing like a U.S.-er to pitch into another. *Vive Valeque*."

[1] The article in question was published in *The Republic* magazine in May, 1890, and was entitled "The Burlesque Rescue of Emin," for it was generally conceded that the pretended rescue was burlesque. Emin had followed Stanley to the coast to *encaisser la forte somme*, but failing to get it he scuttled back to his provinces. The remark "Nothing like a U.S.-er (United

In November I received a notice of my friend's death. I immediately addressed a letter of condolence to the bereaved Lady Burton, a reply to which found me in Egypt.

"LANGHAM HOTEL, LONDON,
"*April 11th*, 1891.

"DEAR MR. CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"You must have thought me so ungrateful for not answering your kind, sympathetic letter of five months ago, but indeed I have felt it deeply. Losing the man who had been my earthly God for thirty-five years in two hours was like a blow on the head, and for a long time I was completely stunned, and the hundreds of kind, sympathetic letters that I received accumulated in a box.

"After fourteen weeks' hard work, which was fortunately a necessity and aroused me from my stupor, I had finished all my work and arrived in England. I took to my bed, where I have been ever since, for my courage broke down. I am too weak to write except by dictation. I am going into a Convent for a short while. I shall send you a card for the funeral, in case it will be convenient for you to come.

"With my grateful thanks for your kindness,
"Yours very sincerely,
"ISABEL BURTON."

States-er) to pitch into another" is made by Burton, who delighted to tease the author with the Americanism "pitch into," which amused him. Stanley was still paraded at that time as an "American," the R.G.S. not being quite decided to accept him as British subject.

Whilst in Paris I received an urgent invitation from M. Paul Toutain, vice-president, to address the Société Normande de Géographie de Rouen on the subject[1] of my expeditions, and was accorded a veritable ovation.

In Paris I saw Madame Adam frequently. Through her kind intervention I was received by M. de Freycinet, then Minister of War, who presented me in person to General Matthieu, chief of artillery.

The 6th of December, 1890, accompanied by my wife, I left Paris for Marseilles, and stopped during several days at the Hôtel des Colonies, where I had been a frequent guest in former days in passing to and fro between Egypt and France. We sailed on the 14th by the Messageries Maritimes *Iraouaddy*, commanded by my excellent and sympathetic friend, the former commander of the *Yangtsé*, le Capitaine de Vaisseau Flandrin. Among the passengers with whom Captain F. made us acquainted was Monseigneur Mutel, who was *en route* to Corea to succeed my friend the late Monseigneur Blanc, chief of the French Catholic Mission at Seoul, who had died since my departure from Corea.

In Alexandria we stopped at the Hôtel Khédivial, where we were visited by a great number of my old friends, who recalled the incidents of 1882 and pointed out the improvements accom-

[1] *Les Sources du Nil—Le Problême Africain.* Published by Cagniard, Rouen, 1890.

plished in the resurrected city. In Cairo we first stopped at the Grand New Hotel, then at the Victoria, and, finally, at the Ismailia; kept by my old friend Amici Bey, an Italian scholar, who fancied that the shortest route to fortune lay in a table d'hôte rather than in *belles-lettres*.

I was received a few days after arrival by Thewfik Khedive in private audience. His situation was very painful and embarrassing. The Khedive was timid and ill at ease, and seemed alarmed lest Sir Evelyn Baring, the British Minister, should appear. But I had not returned to Egypt to fight the British occupant. I therefore left cards upon Sir Evelyn and Lady Baring. Both were out, but called the same afternoon, and, finding we were not at home, left invitations to a ball to be given a few days thereafter. Under the circumstances I could not well refuse, and, accordingly, I went alone, my wife being ill; but what I saw there made me quite disgusted with human frailty. The guests were principally composed of Egyptian officials, former courtiers of Ismail, or partisans of Arabi, and among them, apparently most in favour, was Mustapha Pasha Fehmy.

I had occasion to meet Sir Evelyn subsequently. He had read the article in *Belford's Magazine* of a few months before, entitled "General Gordon the Hero and the Man." "Where," asked Sir Evelyn, "did you learn of the stormy interview between Gordon and the

Khedive?" "From a gentleman quite as intimate with the Khedive as you or I, Sir Evelyn," I answered. I did not tell him that the Khedive himself was my informant. I feared a scene for poor Thewfik. Sir Evelyn bit his lips, and contented himself with making some caustic reflections upon Gordon. It was plain that the latter's caricatures of him and Nubar had left disagreeable impressions.

The Société Khédiviale de Géographie, under the presidency of my esteemed friend Dr. Abbate Pasha, invited me to address the société on the subject of Corea. Likewise the Institut Égyptien tendered me a similar honour.[1]

During the winter we saw much of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, who, when I was absent in Central Africa in 1874–77, was in Cairo, and had contributed enthusiastic reports thereon to the New York press. Mr. Warner and I visited the Barrage together, and spent a day in very interesting researches, under the guidance of our host and compatriot in charge of the work, M. Liernur Bey.

[1] Conference at the Société Khédiviale du Caire: *Souvenirs des pays de Chösen*, February 27th, 1891.

Conference at the Société Khédiviale du Caire: *Les Pygmées de l'Afrique Centrale*, March 20th, 1891.

Conference at the Institut Égyptien: *Notes sur la Corée et des Coréens*, April 3rd, 1891.

The Société Normande de Géographie elected the author honorary member for "eminent services rendered geographical science," April 18th, 1891.

The Institut Égyptien elected the author member resident, November 16th, 1891.

Mrs. Warner desired to be presented to the Khedivah (wife of the Khedive), and, accordingly, my wife, familiar with the ceremonial, accompanied her to court, where they were presented by Madame Ortega, *la doyenne*, the Count Ortega, Consul-General of Spain, being the doyen of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps. Both were highly amused, and, for a fact, deeply mortified, by the exaggerated and ridiculous conduct of the wife of a certain *American Bey*. The lady in question, with the manifest purpose of attracting attention, presented herself in gorgeous array, holding in her hand a bouquet of huge proportions. She had prepared a speech intended to make an impression, and it did. The French, it may be added, was grotesque, incomprehensible to the poor Khedivah, who struggled desperately to maintain her composure, but finally burst into a veritable gale of laughter, in which the assembled ladies joined heartily.

In the days of the *disette*, when Egypt was bankrupt and money was scarce with Khedive and with Princesses, the little pygmy woman, Ticki-Ticki, whom I had brought back from Central Africa, and who had been appropriated by Ismail as an *antika*, or plaything, for the houris of the harem, was turned adrift. I had instigated search in every direction to discover some trace of her (with the view of having her sent as a curiosity to the Exposition at Chicago), but in vain. One day I received a note from a

Syrian lady, accustomed to sell jewellery to the ladies of the harem; she "would tell me of Ticki-Ticki's whereabouts." Following her directions, I found Ticki-Ticki in the Soudanieh village near the Abbassieh. Ticki-Ticki had changed greatly, her hair was turning grey, and suffering from acute ophthalmia she failed to recognize me. In anticipation of a lapse of memory, I brought with me several photographs of myself and escort, including Ticki-Ticki, taken in Cairo by the photographer Béchard the day after our arrival from the Soudan in 1875. Ticki-Ticki gazed at them at first stolidly, but finally memory leaped the fifteen years that had intervened; she recognized each figure in turn, commencing with her own, and finally mine. "*Ana Ariftak, lakin ente agoos!*" ("I know you, but how old you are!") Then, with the recollection of the jungle home, she fell to the ground, covered her face with her hands, uttering the while a succession of piercing shrieks. . . .

When Ticki-Ticki was sufficiently composed I gave her money, but her malady was such that I was convinced of the impracticability of sending her to the Exposition.

I received the visit one day of a Maltese, Mr. Vita Hassan, who had occupied the post of apothecary to Emin Pasha, and had accompanied him in his journey with Stanley through the Black Forest to the East Coast. He came to give me information about the two soldiers,

my faithful and courageous companions of former years. Abd-el-Rahman, he said, was living and was still a sergeant-major. He was one of those who elected to remain in the Equatorial regions under Selim Bey Muttar. The other, Saïd Bagarrah, had been promoted a lieutenant and commanded a detachment of 150 men at Bor Chambé, near Gondokoro, in 1888. There, attacked by the Mahdists in overwhelming numbers, he refused to surrender, and the gallant and devoted Saïd fell with his entire command beneath the spears of the Mahdists.

Sir Samuel Baker, Lady Baker, and her niece were passing the winter of 1891 in Cairo. I breakfasted with them one day, and interchanged many interesting souvenirs of our African expeditions. Sir Samuel had been much criticized for his extravagant administration of the Soudan, but I had frequently defended him on this point, and won his esteem and friendship. Gordon, on the contrary, was quite critical, and, with this knowledge, Sir Samuel felt that Gordon had been neither generous nor just with him. "For a fact," said Sir Samuel, "had not Gordon's government profited by the enormous cost of the steamers which he (Baker) had purchased, or put together, at the arsenal established at Khartoum? As for Abou Saoûd, had not his action with reference to that unworthy employé been verified by Gordon's own condemnation and dismissal of Abou?" It was undeniable.

The winter season of 1891 was attended by the usual entertainments at the Italian Opera, and balls and receptions at the Palace of Abdin. There was, however, a sad falling off in the repertoire and character of the artists employed in former days. The elegance and etiquette maintained at the court of Ismail were wanting.

The khamseen winds of April and the excessive heat drove us to Ramleh on the sea, a few miles from Alexandria. There we inhabited the Villa Binckhorst at Bacos Station, where we passed an ideal summer. In Alexandria I renewed association with some old acquaintances, and among these Judge and Mrs. Barringer. It was to defend these worthy and estimable American citizens, to whom I have already referred, that I incurred the implacable hostility of Judge Barringer's enemies in the Department of State and their accomplices in Egypt.

When the summer in Europe had almost passed, the quail commenced returning to Egypt from Southern Italy. The fact was brought to my attention especially, when I found almost every morning a number of birds, which, borne helplessly on the strong winds, had been thrown against my house and had fallen dead on the verandah. Indeed, I was told that the markets at that season were almost entirely supplied with game secured in this manner. The distance from the Italian shore in a straight line is seven or eight hundred miles!

We returned to Cairo after January 1st, 1892, and were cordially welcomed at the hostellerie of our friend Amici Bey.

I received one day during the winter the visit of Colonel Samniatelli, military attaché of the Consul-General of Italy. He came on the part of M. Macchio, Consul-General, to ask if I could furnish him the hydrographic survey of the port of Kismayu, at the Equator, in the Indian Ocean. Asking my confidence in the name of M. Macchio, he frankly confessed that the Italian fleet was ready to sail and only awaited possession of the document. I hesitated. "What assurance can you give me," I exclaimed, "that your Government will not use the information I give for the benefit of some enemy of Egypt?" Colonel Samniatelli replied: "M. Macchio will give you his word of honour *foi de gentilhomme.*" M. Macchio, in effect, pledged me his word of honour that Italy alone should profit by the document, the survey of the port of Kismayu, and it was promptly given. Later, when the Italian fleet arrived off Kismayu, the commanding officer found, to his chagrin, that a British fleet had already taken possession! Someone had manifestly betrayed the Italian Consul-General.

I was invited to breakfast with the Marquis de Reverseaux, the Consul-General of France, to meet Admiral Dorlodot des Essarts, commanding the French squadron in the Mediter-

ranean, and Admiral Turi, commanding the Italian squadron.

It will be recalled by the reader interested in the events of those days in Egypt that Great Britain protested her good intentions, that she was going to evacuate Egypt, etc. Under such circumstances it was suggested that whenever England should go, the Khedive would appoint me the Governor-General of the Soudan, with head-quarters at Khartoum. The Mahdi, it is true, was still a potent factor in the Soudan, but, then, Zobair Pasha was in Cairo, and it was thought that he could readily break the Mahdi's power. Zobair had been the recognized Sultan of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and had come to Cairo in 1875 to submit certain grievances against the Governor of Khartoum to the Khedive. Ismail threw Zobair Pasha in prison for his pains, and the Governor of Khartoum took his property. Zobair, excepting the time the British had taken him away and confined him at Gibraltar, had lived in seclusion in Cairo. He came to see me at my hotel. "He had every confidence in me; had I not boldly told the truth about the assassination of his son by Gessi?" Zobair, on the occasion of his visit, requested me to go and see Thewfik and ask him to let him return to the Soudan. "You will go with me. I promise you to smash the Mahdi within ten days after we reach Khartoum. I wish to return to my country; I will restore the Soudan to Egypt."

I replied: "Thewfik will do nothing; we must enlist the Consul-Generals; have patience," and Zobair waited, but in vain.

We went to reside in January at Helouan-les-Bains, where my friend the Hon. W. Walter Phelps, U.S. Minister to Germany, came to spend the day with us at the hotel. Whilst at Helouan, the Khedive Thewfik, who frequently occupied his chalet next to the hotel, suddenly expired there on the night of January 7th, 1892. His death created great excitement throughout Egypt.

Abbas Hilmy, the Crown Prince, then seventeen years of age, was at school in Vienna, and was hastily summoned to Egypt to succeed to the throne. The Imperial Firman of investiture addressed the Prince begins as follows:—

"To my enlightened Vizir Abbas Hilmy Pasha called to the Khedivate of Egypt with the high rank of *Sedaret*, decorated with my Imperial orders of Medjidieh in brilliants, and of the first class of the Osmanieh, may the All-Powerful perpetuate His splendour, etc.

"By the decrees of Providence the Khedive Mohammed Thewfik Pasha being deceased, the Khedivate of Egypt, with its ancient limits indicated in the Imperial Firman dated 2 Rebi-ul-Akhir, 1257 A.H. (1st June, 1841), also by the map annexed to the said Firman and the territories annexed in conformity to the Imperial Firman, dated 15 Zilhidge, 1281 A.H. (11th May, 1865), has been conferred upon Thee, etc.

"The Khedive shall not, under any pretext or motive, abandon to others, in whole or in part, the privileges accorded to Egypt, and which are confided to him, and which constitute the inherent rights of the sovereign power, nor any part of the territory of Egypt," etc.

Sir Evelyn Baring took exception to some expression in the firman, which, it was assumed, was not in conformity with the preceding firman to Thewfik, and notably as to authority over Tor-Sinai. For a fact, England, *protectress* of Egypt, refused to accept the firman to be read containing the paragraph cited, namely, that "the Khedivate should not abandon any part of the territory of Egypt." On the intervention of both France and Russia, England withdrew her objection, and the firman was read, and Abbas Hilmy was duly invested with the Khedivate, April 14th, 1892.[1]

[1] Whilst in Egypt I wrote a series of articles which appeared from day to day, under the eyes of the Government, in the journal *Le Sphinx*, and which were subsequently published by the *Nouvelle Librairie*, Madame Adam, 1892, in the volume entitled *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*.

CHAPTER XXI

I RETURNED to France in May, 1892, by the Italian steamer *Arabia* to Genoa, and thence via Turin to Paris. My book, *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, appeared a few days later.[1] Mr. Gladstone was then making a campaign for re-election, and his success, it was thought, would be the signal for the evacuation of Egypt by the British. Mr. Gladstone was frequently quoted in the volume, and I sent him a copy with the author's compliments, with the note cited below :—

"PARIS, LIBRAIRIE DE LA *Nlle. Revue*,
"*June 1st*, 1892.

"The Right Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone.

"DEAR SIR,

"As a modest actor in the scenes represented in the book *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, which has just appeared in French, the author takes the liberty of sending you a

[1] M. Biard d'Aunet, French Consul at Alexandria, presented a copy of *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues* bound with the Khedivial arms to Abbas Hilmy Khedive. A copy likewise richly bound was presented to Abdul Hamid, the Sultan, by the editor, Madame Adam, through M. Cambon, Ambassador of France at Constantinople.

copy, with the expression of his sincere regard and esteem. It has pleased the author in the demonstration of his theme to cite you in several instances, and with the thought that on the eve of the elections the certain notes contained in this book, but little known, and certainly never expressed in England, may serve you and your cause in the campaign which it is hoped will bring you back to power, in the interest of Egypt, the recognition of solemn obligations of Great Britain, and even the peace of Europe.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"CH. CHAILLÉ-LONG."

We quitted Paris in June to spend the summer in the Haute Savoie at Thônes, and subsequently at Challes-les-Eaux, near Chambéry and Aix-les-Bains. At Challes-les-Eaux we occupied a picturesque little chalet during several months in the vicinity of my old friend of many years, Dr. Dacarogna Bey of Egypt.

Dr. L—— visited us there, and, remaining several weeks, we made an excursion to Aix-les-Bains and to the Grand Chartreuse,[1] where we remained the night, and attended *Matins* at two o'clock in the morning.

In November it had become so cold that we reluctantly decided to return to Paris, and subsequently resided at St. Germain-en-Laye.

[1] "A Visit to the Grande Chartreuse," illustrated, *The Catholic Magazine.*

December 22nd, 1892. On the invitation of the Société Normande de Géographie de Rouen I addressed the Société on the subject of "La Corée ou *Chösen*, la Terre du Calme Matinal."

Whilst at St. Germain-en-Laye I received the following letter from my friend Sir Samuel Baker :—

"BATH, ENGLAND,
"*May 6th*, 1893.

"GRAND PUMP ROOM HOTEL.

"DEAR COLONEL CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"We returned from India a few weeks ago, and have not yet been home, as I wished to benefit by the Bath waters before the commencement of the summer.

"Your letter of April 29th has been forwarded to me. . . .

"Gessi was the first to reach the southern extremity of the Albert Nyanza, not in a steamer, but in one of the steel life-boats which I took out. He wrote to me an interesting account, and described the river (Semliki), but he did not know the name, as he dared not land, . . . all the natives being hostile. He described the river to me as about 400 yards wide, with a very rapid current, which the boat could not stem. The water was very much discoloured, reddish, and had caused so great a deposit that shallows had been created, and it was difficult to discover a channel sufficiently deep for the boat, which, being 10 tons, drew 3 feet 6 inches of water.

Gessi was nearly wrecked afterwards. Mason subsequently was sent by Gordon in the steamer *Pioneer*, 300 tons, which I had taken out. After that Gordon took to pieces the *Khedive*, 100 tons, that I had taken out and constructed at Gondokoro. Gordon was employed during two seasons in dragging this steamer through the Bedden and the Moogi[1] rapids up to the last fall, 12 miles from Duffli ;[2] there he took her to pieces and remounted her for the lake, where she is at present.

" When Mason went round the lake in the *Pioneer*, 300 tons, he had instructions from Gordon not to land, as his force was very small. He accordingly went round, but did not examine the shores minutely as he cut off the various bays. When at Cairo, after his return, he gave Lady Baker a bottle of water that he had brought from the lake as a curiosity. I understood him distinctly to say that he had *not seen* ANY RIVER *entering the lake; and he considered it to be a backwater of the Victoria Nile. I told him what Gessi had described to me respecting the large river which supplied the lake at the south. He did not appear to credit Gessi's statement.*

" Of course, it is impossible to become minutely acquainted with such a lake without a careful and lengthened investigation. You require a small rowing boat that only draws a couple of feet of water, as the great masses of floating vegetation and ambatch wood would conceal the mouths of rivers. It took me a considerable time before I could determine that the Victoria

[1] Muggi. [2] Dufilé.

Nile was an affluent and not an arm of the lake, as the water was devoid of any perceptible current.

"I don't know whether you ever passed by the direct fall, twelve miles below Duffli, where Gordon was stopped when dragging the steamer up the river, and where he was obliged to take her to pieces.

"That spot is just below the junction of the Assua River, if I remember rightly, flowing through a rocky gorge opposite Gebel Kukka range.

"The river is certainly not more than eighty yards across, although it is the ENTIRE NILE!

"The engineers have now suggested that a great dam or weir, with controlling gates (barrage), shall be constructed at that pass. Such a work would raise the level of the Albert Nyanza to completely inundate the Semliki Valley and to extend the lake close up to the Ruwenzori Mountain.

"It is my opinion that the rocks which I saw in 1864 in that narrow pass, forming isolated masses like piers of an old bridge, have been more or less washed away, and that would account for the lowering of the level of the Albert Nyanza, which Emin described as extraordinary during his experience of the locality.

"Many persons criticize descriptions of lakes and rivers without taking into consideration the constant changes that must occur where vast masses of water are moving without control.

"When I first saw the Murchison Falls on the

Victoria Nile, it was difficult to believe that so large a river could squeeze itself into a mere spout or shoot, thus jammed between the vertical cliffs upon either side.

" If by constant abrasion a cliff or mass of rock were to fall away, and thus enlarge the passage, the level of the upper stream would immediately be lowered ! Such changes must be always taking place, more or less frequent, and the level must be continually varying.

" It is very annoying that your work has not been more prominently dwelt upon, as you were absolutely the first to visit M'tesa from the north. Although I was for some years in constant communication with him, I never wished to actually cross over the border from Unyoro, as I wanted to keep upon the best of terms with M'tesa, and I knew how easy this is when interchanging civilities from a distance, but how difficult it becomes when you are the guest of an African potentate, and your feathers are daily plucked until you become as bare as a boiled fowl.

" If I were you, I should write to Captain Lugard, to care of the Rl. Geographical Socty., 1 Savile Row, London, and ask him to have your Ibrahim lake thoroughly examined. He may already know something about it, *and you deserve that the discovery should always be coupled with your name.*

" *As you know, there is a lamentable amount of petty jealousy in all the affairs of life, but, above all, unfortunately, in explorations. You did a great amount of good work for Gordon,*

and should I ever have to speak or write upon the subject of the Nile sources I should never forget to emphasize the fact.

" Believe me,

" Sincerely yours,

" SAML. W. BAKER."

At St. Germain-en-Laye (October, 1893), I received a line from M. François Deloncle, deputy, asking me to meet him at his home in Paris to consider an important proposition. M. Deloncle was a member of the Colonial Group in the Chambre des Députés devoted to Colonial interests. The deputy, with the map of Africa spread before us, pointed out the possibility of following the Oubanghi eastward to the Nile, where, between Lado and Bor Chambé, it was proposed to establish a station. Would I undertake the command of such an expedition? I pointed out the difficulties of such a route, and the impossibility of maintaining a station on the Nile at the points indicated, stating that during Gordon's administration we had proved the impossibility of such stations because of the pestiferous conditions of the country, which was marshy and deadly from Fashoda to Lado, south.

I declared that the route should be from the Red Sea, from Obok or Jibutil, to Adowa, where, joined by Menelik and his army of 150,000 or 200,000 Abyssinians (route already

proposed to M. Ferry in a note dated December 11th, 1883), the expedition should follow the Blue Nile to Khartoum and there destroy the Mahdi. It should be done in the name and with the concurrence of the Sultan of Turkey. It would restore France to her position in the condominium—the *status quo ante bellum.* Under such circumstances I would gladly accept the command of the expedition.[1]

I predicted defeat for the mission should it make the Oubanghi its base. It was unknown country, the mission would arrive on the Nile helpless, and the prey of either the Mahdists or the British. I refused to accept the mission unless it were given the direction indicated above; Khartoum was the key to the situation; anything less meant failure.

Whilst the mission was under consideration, my friends suggested that France should confer upon me the title of French citizen. M. Albin Rozet, deputy, undertook to accomplish this object, and the somewhat complicated process had reached the point of being accorded a Presidential Decree, when the proposed expedition received the solution indicated below.

My friends in Rouen, among others M. Gabriel Gravier, secretary-general of the Société

[1] Subsequently the Colonial Group, which persisted in its idea of gaining the Nile from the Oubanghi, confided the command of an expedition, first to Lieutenant-Colonel Monteil, and then to Captain, now General, Marchand. *Vide* article "Fashoda and Khartoum," *Revue Hebdomadaire*, May 5th, 1900.

Normande de Géographie, convinced of the practicability of the route proposed by me, insisted that I should see M. Casimir Périer, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. Accordingly, I asked for an audience, which was promptly granted to me on January 17th, 1894. M. Lebon, sub-secretary of the Ministry of Colonies, formerly president of the Geographical Society of Rouen, had been approached by M. Gravier with the suggestion that Cheikh Saïd, opposite Jibutil, might be reoccupied and utilized in connection with the proposed mission to Adowa and Khartoum. All these questions were briefly submitted to M. Périer with the view of attracting his active interest in the enterprise. M. Périer read with manifest interest the note of December 11th, 1883, and promised to give the subject his serious attention, but nothing came of it.[1]

The assassination of President Sadi Carnot in June, 1894, and the election of M. Casimir Périer as his successor, put an end for the moment to all thoughts of the proposed mission. I was at Lusignan, near Poitiers, when M. Périer's election was announced, and under the circumstances of the cordial reception accorded me in

[1] The Sino-Japanese War was declared in 1894. The *Illustration* (by intermediary of my friend M. Fernand Honoré, sub-editor of the *Figaro*) requested the author to furnish a *résumé* of the situation in Corea, that country being the scene of the conflict. Two illustrated articles appeared in the August and September numbers of the *Illustration* (1894). Subsequently the author published the volume *La Corée ou Chösen, la Terre du Calme Matinal.* E. Leroux. Paris, 1894.

January, I addressed the new President a telegram of congratulation.

Lusignan is a picturesque town of two thousand inhabitants, situated in the arrondissement of Poitiers. The famous house of Lusignan, "Rois de Lusignan," renders the town and country full of historic interest. Mélusine, the fairy, is connected with the romantic and fabulous legends of the Poitou as the protectress of the house of Lusignan, the famous family whence sprang Guy de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, 1194 A.D., brother of Amaury II, King of Cyprus (1205). Lusignan was the home of an old friend, M. Richard Le Cointe, whose acquaintance I had made in Paris several years before, when he occupied the post of clerk in my *étude* in the Rue Tronchet, Paris. Le Cointe's mother belonged to a French Creole family of St. Domingo, and at the period of the Revolution found refuge at Philadelphia, whence she followed Le Cointe sen., who was possessed of considerable fortune, to the Poitou. Richard was a good fellow, whose effervescent spirit constituted him an agreeable and sympathetic companion. His stories of the campaign of 1870–71, with his friend Woestyne, were inimitable.

From Lusignan we removed to Poitiers, where we resided at No. 23 bis, Rue des Jacobins, a quaint house in a quaint street, the former being a restored part of the ancient convent of the Cordeliers and formerly connected with the

church of the Cordeliers, which now serves as a *magasin de nouveautés*, kept by Renard et Cie. The church was of special interest to me because it contained the shield of the Chaillé family and a vault in which were buried certain members of the family. A description of the vault and family has been written by M. Richard,[1] archivist of the Department of Vienne.

Poitiers, the ancient capital of the Poitou, is an old city, which bears distinctive evidence of its once powerful fortifications and vast communicating vaults. It was there Charles Martel crushed the Arabs in 732; there the Black Prince conquered and captured Jean le Bon (Jean II), the same whose son, having been left as a hostage, escaped, constituted himself a prisoner, declaring, with pride: "*Si la bonne foi était bannie du reste de la terre, elle devrait se retrouver dans le cœur et dans la bouche des rois*" ("If good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, it should be found in the heart and in the mouth of kings"). Poitiers, besides, is distinguished for the visit of Jeanne d'Arc *en route* to Orleans, as the cradle of Calvinism and the siege by Admiral Coligny. It is now a city of academies, universities, and churches. Its society is exclusive and aristocratic, and seems to bid defiance to the democratic spirit which now apparently dominates France.

[1] *Inscription des Chaillé aux Cordeliers de Poitiers, par* M. Richard.

M. Hild was the Dean of the Faculty of Letters and President of the Alliance Française. In this dual capacity he invited me to deliver a lecture on the subject of Egypt and Africa, then a burning question in France.

On the evening of April 3rd, 1895, a large audience was assembled in the amphitheatre of the Faculty of Letters.[1] On the platform were M. Compayre, rector of the Academy, M. Gassan, conseiller, M. Servant, conseiller adjoint, Dr. le Chedevergne, directeur of the Medical College, M. Labonde, secrétaire of the Poitevin Committee of the Alliance Française, the Procureur-General, magistrates, officers of the army, and M. Hild, president of the committee.

M. Hild, in introducing me, won the sympathetic interest of the distinguished audience, composed of the élite of Poitiers. "Descended from an ancient family,[2] whose representatives figure in the historical and genealogical dictionary of Beauchet-Filleau. Poitiers," he said, "had, in the fifteenth century, a mayor by the name of Chaillé. Your lecturer is descended directly from Dr. Pierre Chaillé, who emigrated from the Poitou to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and thence to America in 1710. His ancestors had the privilege of

[1] Conference delivered by invitation and for the benefit of the Alliance Française: "L'Egypte et l'Afrique," April 3rd, 1895.

[2] See Appendix III: "The Chaillé-Long families in France and America."

fighting side by side with the Frenchmen Lafayette and Rochambeau, for the emanci pation of their new country. You may look at him; the Colonel, great-grandson of these heroes of the War for American Independence, after so many generations of exile returns to us with the features and speech of a veritable Poitevin (native of the Poitou). Of him it may truly be said: '*Bon sang de Français n'a jamais menti. . . .*'" The Conference was a marked success and contributed a substantial aid to the Alliance Française.

At Poitiers I became acquainted with M. Richard, archivist of the Department of Vienne, and also M. Meschinet de Richmond, archivist of La Rochelle. Aided by their experience, I was enabled to establish the affiliation of the Chaillé families, a sketch of which is added to the last pages of this book. Almost all the churches of Poitiers contain inscriptions, coats of arms, and the vaults of the Chaillés, and opposite the Church of Nôtre Dame la Grande, which bears the sculptured Chaillé arms, there stands a part of the "Maison des Clefs," which belonged to the Claveurier family, and which joins the house, still standing, of the Chaillés, to whom the Claveuriers were allied. There is a Château Chaillé a short distance from Poitiers, a superb estate, the property of the Count de Tudert, whose ancestor married a daughter of André Chaillé.

Having carefully examined the archives in Poitiers, including the Bibliothèque de la Ville, we decided to go to Bordeaux[1] with the view of researches there and in the vicinity. In Bordeaux we formed the acquaintance of Mr. B——, the sympathetic Vice-Consul of the United States, who contributed greatly to the pleasure of our sojourn in that city. Also M. V——, an attaché of the Consulate, who, much to our amusement, gave us very clever accounts of the idiosyncrasies of some of our Consular representatives who had misrepresented America in Bordeaux.

During our residence in Bordeaux, and at the invitation of M. B——, we spent a day at Pauillac, on the Gironde, where we were accorded the exceptional privilege of visiting the *caves* of the famous Châteaux Lafitte, Margaux, St. Julien, and others. Returning to Pauillac, we breakfasted with M. and Mademoiselle Avrous, brother and sister, who were engaged in viniculture. The large and courteous hospitality of our charming hosts, the vision of the green expanse of grape-laden vines, which seems in the distance to mingle with ocean and sky, have left us with a memorable souvenir of a day in wonderland; a closed book to foreigners generally, who appear to ignore the attractions of the Médoc.

We lingered in Bordeaux until August (1896),

[1] In Bordeaux the author accepted an invitation to address the *Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux* on the subject of the commerce of Corea, and was rewarded by being elected a corresponding member.

when we bade our good friend adieu, and embarked on the steamer *Château-Lafitte*, and, after an uneventful passage, arrived in New York on August 18th.

In Washington I was proffered the post of secretary-delegate to the International Postal Congress, which assembled at the capital, May 5th, 1897, and which was presided over by the Hon. James A. Gary, of Maryland, Postmaster-General. The Congress, after many sessions, was tendered receptions and outings, and visited Mt. Vernon, Baltimore, and Fortress Monroe, after which a vestibuled train took the delegates and their families on a journey to St. Louis, Chicago, Niagara Falls, Albany, Boston, West Point, thence down the Hudson to Jersey City, and thence by train back to Washington. The Congress, in its closing session, presented to Captain N. M. Brooks, chief of the foreign mails and delegate, and to myself and others, pieces of valuable silver plate, specially prepared and inscribed, in token of the appreciation of the Congress. To these were added the stamp collections of the different countries, thus constituting us involuntarily important philatelists.

The Japanese delegation proffered the U.S. delegation a banquet at the "Arlington," and after the feast, a collection of stamps handsomely bound together, a gift from the Imperial Government at Tokio, as a souvenir of the Congress.

Finally, after a series of receptions and entertainments, the Congress was received by President McKinley at the White House, in full dress, and Captain B—— and myself were assigned the pleasant privilege of presenting the members of the Congress to the President and his wife. The Congress adjourned the 15th of June, 1897, to hold its next session in Rome in 1906.[1]

On October 22nd I addressed a communication to the Bureau of Forestry, Department of Agriculture at Washington, in conjunction with M. Fondeville, a French citizen residing in New York, submitting a proposition to plant the Atlantic coast, from New Jersey to Florida, bays, bayous, and sand-dunes, with the *Pin maritime*, or sea pine, after the manner of the pine forests of Arcachon, France.

The forests of Arcachon constituted an invaluable object-lesson. The American forests, in addition to serving as barriers against devastating winds and tornadoes, which had resulted from reckless and ignorant deforestation in the United States, could be utilized as delightful

[1] Among the members of the Congress to whom I refer with special pleasure were the Count and Countess de Brazza, delegates from Italy; M. and Mme. Pierre Szalay from Hungary; M. Havilard from Holland; M. Delessart from Switzerland; Dr. Richter from Germany; Messrs. Walpole, Buxton, Forman from England; General Mirza Khan from Persia; Mr. Van Alphen, Director of Posts of the Transvaal. The author had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance with M. Van Alphen in Paris in 1900, when the latter was accompanying President Kruger on his journey to Europe in that year.

health resorts and refuges for the people of adjacent towns in periods of excessive heat.

The Arcachon pine forest had been planted by the distinguished French engineer Brémontier in order to fix the shifting sands of the coast at Arcachon, and thus permit the erection of coast defences. Brémontier not only succeeded in that object, but the system there, as in Gascony, proved an immense source of riches to France.

In the brief submitted to the Bureau of Forestry it was set forth: 1st, that the *Pin maritime* was of very quick growth, the burs and shatters quickly fixed the sand and formed solid ground that became productive soil; 2nd, the seeds were sown broadcast in the sand and required no cultivation; 3rd, the forests were health resorts, the resin and pitch being employed successfully in the treatment of cystitis, cystine, bronchitis, tuberculosis, and kidney disorders; 4th, the wood cuttings and tar were merchantable after the second and third years' planting.

The proposition was met with all sorts of objections; "the States must be consulted," and, finally, "a better native species could be grown," a statement I believed to be erroneous. The American species requires twenty-five years to fifty years to mature, and has none of the medicinal properties of the *Pin maritime*. It was my

ulterior purpose that, having succeeded in reclaiming the Atlantic coast of America by means of the *Pin maritime*, I would apply it to the coast of Africa, with particular reference to the coasts of Egypt.

CHAPTER XXII

IN the month of July, 1897, Mr. M. P. Handy, who had been appointed U.S. Special Commissioner to the Exposition, 1900, at Paris, by President McKinley, tendered me the position of secretary to the Commission. The Commissioner explained that the situation held by him was specially difficult, because Congress had been tardy in making an appropriation. Besides, the French Government would not be likely to show the U.S. Commission much favour, because at the Chicago Exposition the French Commission had lost its art exhibit by fire, due to carelessness of the U.S. Commissioners, and when the former had submitted a claim it was discourteously refused. The French Commission brought suit and obtained satisfaction in the courts, but Mr. Handy feared that the French Government would retaliate and relegate the American section to an unworthy place in the Exhibition. For these reasons Mr. Handy appealed to me, who, by reason of my well-known service to the French Government and its citizens in Egypt in 1882, etc., would be able to secure for his Commission the necessary recognition, and, if necessary, defend it from any

attempt at retaliation. If I would accept, it would be taken as an act of devotion, and I should be rewarded either by the second place in the General Commission or a recommendation as Judge in the International Courts in Egypt. Under these conditions I accepted, and prepared to accompany him to France.[1]

Mr. Handy experienced some difficulty in maintaining my appointment. Another "conie" of the Department, on learning of my selection as secretary, told him that the appointment could not be made, that the Secretary of State wanted the place for a nephew. I begged Handy to let me out; that, so far as I was concerned, I would be glad to have the nephew go. "But he knows nothing," said Handy. "He not only does not speak French, but he is nothing but an impertinent fellow to aspire to such a place." Handy paid him and sent him away. And he went, threatening the vengeance of the Secretary. . . .

[1] In the interval of departure a number of papers were returned from the files of the State Department to the author. Among others, letters from Justice Stephen J. Field and Mr. Frederic R. Coudert, both personal and political friends, urging my appointment to Tangier, Manila, or as Minister to Persia. An inexperienced clerk on duty at the time of the personal request for the return of the papers was the cause that the papers were returned without having been properly inspected and prepared by his chief. The "incident" resulted in the shame and confusion of one of the clerks whom Gordon would have delighted to term "conie." The "conie" in question, whilst pretending to facilitate the appointment (to which he professed to be friendly), had left a note unwittingly among these papers which proved his unfriendliness and treachery. The author sent the man his own notes, inviting attention to his professions. The punishment it was felt was sufficient and for "the good of the service."

Mr. Handy, Lieutenant-Commander B——, U.S. Navy, and I sailed on *La Gascogne* from New York, September 5th, 1897. On arrival in Paris it was found that the State Department had not apprised the U.S. Embassy of the appointment of the U.S. Special Commissioner, but this neglect was promptly repaired through my friend M. Vignaud, the first secretary of the U.S. Embassy, who, in the absence of the Ambassador, was Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*. The Commission was presented to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Hanotaux, by whom it was presented to the Ministers of Commerce and Agriculture, and Handy had the satisfaction, through my efforts, to obtain all the space necessary, and he returned to America, leaving me the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Commission.

Mr. Handy died suddenly in America, January 8th, 1898. A few days thereafter I received from an aspiring official in Washington a characteristic despatch: "Now that poor Handy is gone and cannot look out for your interests, you are likely to be replaced—I want your place." It was frank, to say the least. There were some 16,000 dollars unexpended of the appropriation of 25,000 dollars by Congress. An individual was appointed with haste "to execute the work unaccomplished by Handy,"[1] and the

[1] For a fact there was no unaccomplished work to be executed, and the appointment of another, wholly unconnected and inexperienced, was an affront to the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*. Besides, the appointment created comment on the part of the

Chargé d'Affaires was confronted by a junketing mission, whose main purpose was to expend the unexpended appropriation, which was, of course, thus expended

During the author's absence from Paris there appeared without authority what purported to be a translation from the English into French of my book the *Three Prophets*, by A. Munro, and published by the Maison Dentu, Paris. The translation was such only in name, it was burlesque—it was more, it proved the truth of what Joachim du Bellay said: "Les mauvais traducteurs *seraient nommés traditeurs*," whence the familiar Italian aphorism "traduttore, traditore." Munro was Maltese, it appeared, and understood neither English nor French. I called upon M. Dentu in the absence of Munro *introuvable*, and endeavoured to learn how such an unauthorized *charabia* had been accepted and published. M. Dentu appeared astonished; manifestly the book had been published without the *visa* of the chief. I suggested that it was the work of the *concierge!*

One day, having a moment of idle leisure, I picked up the translation and found there a surprise in the form of additions made by the *traduttore;* there were chapters first of praise of Arabi Pasha, and also of arguments in favour

Commissioners of other nations unused to such methods. The French Government as well did not fail to present its sympathies and regards to the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*.

of Halim Pasha, pretender to the throne of Egypt! The *supercherie*, it was clear, had been accomplished by Halim's agent in Paris, a certain Waby Bey, a friend of Munro and Abou Nadarrah. Munro had doubtless been well paid by Waby Bey. I endeavoured to find out from Abou Nadarrah what interest he had, if any, in Waby Bey and Munro's speculation.

The disappearance of Munro and the death of Waby Bey rendered all efforts at explanation in that direction impossible. Abou Nadarrah —"The Father of Spectacles"—once a well-known figure in Oriental circles in Paris, when interrogated by a friend remembered nothing of the incident.

War was declared with Spain in the spring of 1898. Although I was of the opinion that the war could have been averted, I deemed it my duty to address my offer of services to my native State :—

"PARIS, 26 RUE CAMBON,
"*April 26th*, 1898.

"To His Excellency
"The Governor of Maryland.

"EXCELLENCY,

"I deem it my duty, in view of the present state of war with Spain, and in prevision of any emergency which may arise therefrom, to signify my desire to defend the interests of my native State and those of the United States.

I therefore tender to Your Excellency my sword with a view to such service, subject to the permission of the President of the United States should I still be in the service of the Commission.

"I have the honour to enclose herewith my military and civil record, which shows that I served during the war of secession in the 1st Md. E.S. Infantry, and, finally, as Captain of G Co. 11th Md. Infantry.

"I have the honour to be, Excellency,

"Your obdt. Servant,

"COL. CH. CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"Chargé d'Affaires,

"U.S. Special Commission, Exp. 1900, Paris."

The following response was received from the Secretary of State :—

"ANNAPOLIS, MD.,

"*May 9th*, 1898.

"Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long,

"Paris, France.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am instructed by the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of April 26th tendering your services to your native State in the existing war with Spain, and to inform you that the same has been, by his direction, referred to the Adjutant-General of the State for attention.

"Very respectfully,

"RICHARD DALLAM,

"Secretary of State."

The 4th of July (1898) was celebrated in Paris with more than usual ardour. The American Chamber of Congress gave a banquet at the Grand Hotel to which four hundred guests were invited, among whom, General Horace Porter, U.S. Ambassador, M. Henry Vignaud, first secretary of Embassy; M. Dévise, representing President of Council of Ministers; M. Marue-jouls, Minister of Commerce; M. Decrais, representing Foreign Office; M. Blanc, prefect of police; M. Pallain, governor of Bank of France; M. Goy, president of Tribunal of Commerce; M. Masson, president of the Paris Chamber of Commerce; M. Lourdelet, president of the Société des Industriels et Commerçants de France; M. Trezza de Musella, president of the Italian Chamber of Commerce; M. Bartholdi, sculptor; Dr. Levett, Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, M. Henri Chardon, representing M. Picard, commissioner-General of the Exposition, 1900.

Responding for the U.S. Commission, as Chargé d'Affaires, I acknowledged the marked favours and courtesies received from M. Picard, the Commissioner-General, and M. Delauney-Belleville, the Director-General of Exploitation, and said :—

"On this auspicious day, the 122nd anniversary of American Independence, we may invoke the memory of two illustrious Americans, whose names in France and in America are the

symbols of patriotism and liberty—Washington and Franklin.

"Franklin was in council what Washington was in the camp. On the 4th of July, 1776, Franklin, member of the Continental Congress, declared the Independence of the Colonies; as Minister to France, preceded by the prestige of his immense popularity, he obtained a generous grant of money, arms, and munitions for his countrymen in revolt against Great Britain. During Franklin's residence in Paris he met the Ambassador of England at a dinner given by a high functionary of the French Government, when the British Ambassador proposed the following toast:—

"'To England, the brilliant sun whose rays illuminate the world.'

"A French Ambassador followed, and said:—

"'To France, the moon whose yellow beams dissipate the shadows of night.'

"Franklin's turn came; all eyes were turned towards him. He raised his glass calmly, and, with a smile of irony, said:—

"'To George Washington, the Joshua who commanded the sun and moon to stand still.'

"When Franklin died, in 1790, the National Assembly of France adopted mourning, and on the death of Washington, in 1799, General Bonaparte, First Consul, ordered that the flags of the army should be draped with crape during ten days.

" With such souvenirs the destinies of the two Republics, France and America, will ever be united, one and inseparable. I raise my glass and drink to the success of the Universal Exposition of 1900, represented here, in the absence of M. Picard, by M. Chardon, the general secretary of the Exposition."

M. Chardon, responding, said :—

" At the close of a century of prodigious movement, of varied fortunes, and of great disturbances, which sometimes unjustly destroyed the equilibrium of nations, we Frenchmen are proud that it is at Paris that representatives of the human race will gather in numbers never before equalled to celebrate the birth of the new century, bringing with them all the knowledge they possess, everything they have learned from the past and what they hope for in the future. . . .

" I drink, with great confidence, to the steadfast friendship of France and the United States, and to your success at the Exposition, 1900."

The death of Nubar Pasha in February, 1899, recalls the death of Ismail in 1895. The death of Ismail, in exile at Constantinople, was passed over almost unnoticed, whilst Nubar's demise was given unusual space in the British and even in the French press. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* is an ancient maxim, which would forbid a word about Nubar, and yet to say nothing would be to accept without protest the praise which is not merited.

Nubar was an Armenian, whose family name is said to have been Moghreditch. Nubar's mother was a Boghos. Nubar was born in Smyrna and educated by the Jesuits. He was second secretary to Mohammed Aly, first secretary to Ibrahim Pasha. Abbas sent him on missions to London and Vienna. Saïd Pasha disliked the secretary, but nevertheless reappointed him twice, having dismissed him twice. It was Ismail Khedive who promoted Nubar to the pashalik, made him Minister of Public Works, and then of Foreign Affairs. General Gordon fell out with him, and denounced him publicly as being the *Mephisto* who had accomplished the ruin of Ismail.[1]

[1] Lord Cromer in his book *Modern Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 336, writes of Nubar, who had been his coadjutor : " In spite of real talents, his suavity, his earnest devotion to civilized principles of government, and his profuse professions and esteem, he inspired but little confidence amongst those Englishmen with whom he was brought in contact. They mistrusted him, perhaps more than he deserved to be mistrusted. He could never understand the feelings which his behaviour excited in the minds of Englishmen. He went to his grave with a hardy and unimpeachable belief in the political virtues of finesse bordering on duplicity."

On p. 340 Lord Cromer completes his portrait of Nubar, thus : " For some four years I got on fairly well with him. On many occasions I afforded him strong support. I shut my eyes to a good deal of intrigue which I knew was going on around me. In an evil moment for himself, Nubar Pasha went to England. He had an interview with Lord Salisbury at which I was present. To my surprise, for he had not given me any warning of his intentions, he burst out in a violent tirade against the British officials in Egypt in general, and against Sir Edgar Vincent and myself in particular. All this produced very little effect on Lord Salisbury, but the ultimate result—for this was the beginning of a breach which subsequently widened—was such as Nubar

A writer in *La Revue Britannique* for February, 1884, speaking of Nubar, says: "Nubar Pasha showed himself hostile in pushing the Khedive Ismail into the most ruinous enterprises, by reason of the loans which became necessary, and of which the following is the instructive tableau :—

	Nominal Amount.	Sums Realized.
1864	£5,804,200	£4,864,063
1866	3,000,000	2,640,000
1868	11,890,000	7,193,334
1873	32,000,000	20,162,658"

Nubar was sent to Paris with millions at his disposal to stop the construction of the Suez Canal. De Lesseps denounced these manœuvres in the press, and caused Nubar to be condemned by the Civil Tribunal of the Seine for publication of false and defamatory documents. . . .

Nubar exerted influence over the U.S. Consulate in Cairo. Among other questions, that of the Kindinecos' claim for lands confiscated by the Egyptian Government, Nubar being the intermediary in the payment of backsheesh to hold up the claims, the Kindineco brothers being naturalized American citizens.

Nubar confided the direction of the Cadastral survey to one of his protégés, who appropriated

hardly anticipated. He thought he was doing a clever stroke of business; what he really did was to bring about his own downfall. . . . I used often to half believe when I knew full well that he was trying to dupe me!"

8090 acres of the public lands, a great part of which was said to have been turned over to Nubar. A printed memoir of the case was submitted to the Department of State from Egypt, March 12th, 1892, entitled "*L'Affaire du Cadastre et des Fraudes Commises au détriment des Finances.*"

A public scandal ensued. Nubar, who, in fact, was said to be *particeps criminis*, was obliged to cause an inquiry to be held. M—— Bey was dismissed from the service, but Nubar, in order to close the mouth of his victim, sent him to Washington with strong letters of recommendation, asking President Cleveland to recommend M—— Bey (who knew nothing of law) to the Egyptian Government as *Judge in the International Tribunals of Egypt!*

In the month of August, 1899, I rejoined my wife in Brittany, whence we went, via Nantes, to Chaillevette, in the Charente-Inférieure, to visit a relative who had been made known to us through our friend M. Meschinet de Richemond, and who had urged us to visit him. Our arrival at Chaillevette was quite well known in advance, and the coming of the "cousin d'Amérique" attracted a numerous assemblage at the station. The people, indeed, had quite overlooked the fact that more than two hundred years had elapsed since Dr. Pierre Chaillé had escaped from Chaillevette and confounded me with my distinguished ancestor! How discover my relative? I hastily ran my eye over the

assembled throng as the train halted, and, deciding upon him by a remarkable family likeness, I walked to him directly and said: "*Monsieur Elie Chaillé, apres deux cents ans d'absence, me voici!*" ("M. Chaillé, after two hundred years' absence, here I am!") I was not mistaken. It was Monsieur and Madame Chaillé, who greeted us most cordially, introduced us to their neighbours as the expected "cousin d'Amérique," and then conducted us to their hospitable home.

During our two weeks' visit, ever memorable, we were fêted and treated with cordial affection. M. Elie Chaillé never tired of recounting the traditions of his family. One of these was that the Chaillés had sailed for America after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and had been "lost at sea." I told him, strange to relate, that the same tradition existed in the Chaillé family in America, namely, that "Peter Chaillé had returned to France (from Snow Hill) in his own ship, and was '*lost at sea.*'" M. Chaillé had a mass of family papers, discoloured by age, among which were several which showed that the four brothers, mentioned hereafter, had adopted the sea as a profession, and one of them certainly had engaged in the slave trade from the coast of Africa to the "Iles d'Amérique" (Cuba). M. Chaillé, dear old man, was much depressed at my having discovered what had always weighed upon his sensitive soul. I laughed

heartily over it, and comforted him by saying that " the sons of a nobleman driven from their homes, stripped of titles and fortune, were obliged to do what they could," and, I added, " at that period slave-trading was by no means a despicable calling."

We were invited to a family reunion of the Protestant Chaillés at Paterre, near Chaillevette. There were nineteen Chaillés assembled. At the home of Mesdames Vaurigaud and Durst, *née* Chaillé de Néré, Pastor Turco presided and delivered an impressive but interminable prayer, in which one might think that the days of the Dragonnades had not yet passed. Our visit to Monsieur and Madame Elie Chaillé is always remembered with great pleasure.

CHAPTER XXIII

ON June 3rd, 1900, General Horace Porter, Ambassador of the United States and president of the society in France of the Sons of the American Revolution, received the following invitation to assist at the inauguration of the statue of Rochambeau at Vendôme :—

" The Municipality of Vendôme and the Committee Rochambeau beg you to accept their good wishes. They address through you to the American people a patriotic and fraternal salutation.

" The people of Vendôme are preparing a warm welcome to Americans who desire to honour by their presence the fêtes attending the inauguration of the monument to Rochambeau.

" Honour to Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse.

" Vive la France ! Vivent les Etats-Unis, Vive la République !

" (Signed) GUILLEMOT, Mayor."

General Porter and the society accepted. On the train were General Butler and Admiral Bayle de Jessé, representing the Ministries of War and Marine; M. Beau of the Foreign

Affairs; M. Bernardy of the Colonies; the members of the Sons of the American Revolution Society; MM. Sahune de Lafayette; and, finally, M. Le Myre de Vilers, deputy of Cochin-China and president d'honneur of the Rochambeau Committee.

The city of Vendôme was *en fête*, and the streets and houses bedecked with flowers, with arcades and arches covered with verdure, and on which were written such inscriptions as, "Souhaits de bienvenue!" "Honneur à nos hôtes!" "Vive l'Armée!" "Hommage à Rochambeau," etc.

The committee received the guests at the Mayoralty, where a generous breakfast had been prepared, after which the guests were formed in column and marched to the picturesque Place Saint-Martin, on which was situated the statue.

M. Soubiran, secretary-general of the Prefecture of Loir-et-Cher, opened the proceedings by introducing M. Le Myre de Vilers, who spoke, in part, as follows:—

"Of all the generals who have rendered our country illustrious, Rochambeau was, without contradiction, the one whose victories have had the greatest results. Others have achieved more brilliant success, have conquered in a few months vast empires, but their work was ephemeral, whilst the Marshal, in forcing Lord Cornwallis to capitulate, assured the foundation of the Republic of the United States, whose rapid

development, riches, and power call forth the admiration of the world. . . .

"Gentlemen, in periods of revolution, men of modern opinions and profound convictions, who place the interest of the nation before their personal desires, risk to be misunderstood; such was the fate of the Marshal. The Monarchy accused him of liberalism, the Convention sent him to the Revolutionary Tribunal; condemned to death, his great modesty, of which he had often given proof, saved him from the scaffold. When obliged to mount the fatal car, by politeness he allowed Malesherbes and his unfortunate companions to pass before him. The tumbril was full. 'Return, old Marshal,' said the executioner, 'your turn will come later.' His turn never came; the IX Thermidor put an end to the régime of blood which had tyrannized France. In 1807 Rochambeau passed away, full of days and glory. . . .

"In 1898 a committee was formed to erect the monument we inaugurate to-day. Subscriptions came from both sides of the Atlantic. A young sculptor of rare talent, M. Fernand Hamar, was charged with the work. Everything was progressing well and promised a satisfactory termination, when certain citizens, ignoring the history and traditions of our region, imagined that, in his quality of Marquis, the friend of Washington and Lafayette was the adversary of the Republic, and, for a moment, pronounced

the ostracism of the statue of the conqueror of the English the morning after Fashoda! It was going back to the old quarrels of 1784–93, 1815 and 1848. The clever, good sense of the Vendômois overcame that manifest error. . . .

"Mr. Ambassador, Rochambeau belongs as much to the United States as to France; it was defending the independence and the liberty of your country that he acquired immortality. Your presence among us testifies again the indissoluble ties of friendship which unite the two Republics. We pray you to be our interpreter with President McKinley and Congress, and express to them our respectful sympathy.

"Gentlemen and Delegates, we thank you for having taken part in this national ceremony, and we beg you to express to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War and Marine and Colonies the homage of our gratitude."

The Société Chorale Parisienne, known as "Enfants de Lutèce," sang with great effect the *Marseillaise*, followed by the trumpets of the 20th Chasseurs.

General Porter was then introduced, and said, in part:—

"I salute the hero who was at Washington's side at the taking of Yorktown, and those who assured our liberty have the right to all the gratitude of our nation.

"America is neither forgetful nor ungrateful. She manifested this in sending you succour

after the frightful war in which you struggled for the existence of the country. So many ties of friendship established between our two Republics will never be broken."

Before the conclusion of the ceremonies M. Le Myre de Vilers[1] announced that the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts had accorded the "Palmes d'Officier de l'Académie" to Fernand Hamar, a deaf mute, but who, as a Parisian sculptor present remarked, "*N'est pas manchot*" ("He is not one-handed").

The old Marshal, in costume of his time, is represented by the artist standing, the right arm raised, the hand pointing to an object. A map is held in the left hand. The gesture is imperative, precise, and positive.

The inscriptions are as follows :—

"Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Marquis de Rochambeau, Maréchal de France, 1725–1807.

"Commandant-en-Chef de l'armée française en Amérique, prit Yorktown en 1781, et assura l'indépendance des Etats-Unis."

A visit was made to the tomb of Rochambeau, which for the occasion was covered with flowers and draped with the flags of France and America.

[1] M. Le Myre de Vilers, former Resident-General of France at Madagascar, was then Deputy from Cochin-China to the Chamber of Deputies. Born in Vendôme in 1833, he entered the Navy. He attained the rank of Lieutenant de Vaisseau and resigned 1861, but re-entered the service in 1870. He has occupied many posts of honour and his position in the Chamber was one of merited distinction.

M. le Comte Saint-Venant, formerly an officer of the Mobiles of Loir-et-Cher, secretary of the "Comité de Rochambeau," pronounced an eloquent address in the name of his colleagues.

On July 3rd, 1900, there was inaugurated in Paris, Place de Jéna (since named Place Washington), an equestrian monument of Washington, a statue offered to France by the *Women of America.*

Ten years before, in 1890, an association of representative women from all parts of the country was formed at the national capital, whose object was to present to the French people a statue of Washington. Mrs. Stephen J. Field, the wife of the distinguished Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was elected president of the association. Mrs. Cleveland, the wife of ex-President Cleveland, Mrs. McKinley and Mrs. Hobart, wives of the President and Vice-President of the United States, were named honorary presidents.

The committee, in appealing for funds to accomplish its object, said; "The people of this country have always cherished a warm sentiment of gratitude to France for her generous aid in our struggle for national independence, yet they have never given her, as a nation, any lasting memorial of their appreciation of her friendship. To supply, in some small measure at least, this omission on their part, it has seemed that it would be a fitting thing for the women

of America to offer to France some memorial which shall convey to present and future generations their grateful remembrances."

The committee selected the American sculptor Daniel C. French to design and execute the statue.

The figure of Washington in bronze, seven feet high, is represented on a horse in bronze; his right arm extended with sword in hand, invoking the aid of Heaven at the moment he assumes command of the army at Cambridge on July 3rd, 1775.[1]

A superb tribune, draped in cream-white silk with gold fringe and seating 1200 persons, was erected in front of the Musée Guimet in the Place de Jéna. Flag-poles ornamented with the French and American colours surrounded the statue at intervals, and lent a particular beauty and grace to the exceptionally elegant *mise en scène.*

The President of the French Republic was represented by Commandant Meaux St. Marc; M. Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Protocole by M. Crozier, director; General Florentin; G. de Sahune de Lafayette; Gilbert de Pusey; Baron F. de Coubertin; Jules Claretie; Bartholdi; Le Myre de Vilers;

[1] The inscriptions on the pedestal are as follows:—
1st. "Washington."
2nd. "Offert par les femmes des États-Unis d'Amérique en mémoire de l'amitié et de l'aide fraternelle données par la France à leurs pères dans leur lutte pour l'Indépendance."

General Baratieri, etc., and a thousand or more who filled the immense tribune and exterior seats to overflow.

General Horace Porter presided and delivered an address. Consul-General Gowdy followed, with an address, presenting the statue to M. Delcassé.

M. Delcassé accepted the monument in a graceful speech, expressing the grateful thanks and appreciation of the French nation to the women of America.

Appointed by the committee of the Washington Statue Association to deliver the oration on Washington in the name of the women of America, I followed M. Delcassé. The note from Mrs. Justice Field, herewith appended, expressed the thanks of the Association.[1]

[1] "WASHINGTON STATUE ASSOCIATION,
"*July 27th*, 1900.

"MY DEAR COLONEL CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"At a meeting of the Washington Statue Association held at my house yesterday a warm resolution was passed thanking you for your eloquent oration and expressing appreciation of the work you have done for us. We feel that it is owing to your courtesy largely that the unveiling went off with so much *éclat* and smoothness.

"A letter from Mr. French tells of his satisfaction at the reception of his statue by both Frenchmen and Americans.

"With high regard and again expressing my thanks in addition to those of the Association,

I am sincerely yours,
"SUE VIRGINIA FIELD."

The author suggested at the U.S. Embassy that Mrs. Field and Mrs. J. P. Jones, her deputy and collaborator, merited in a high degree the Cross of the Légion d'Honneur. The Government of the Republic conferred upon these ladies the distinction of l'Instruction Publique.

The following day, July 4th (1900), my wife and I assisted as spectators at the inauguration of the monument of Lafayette, a plaster-cast statue of which had been placed in the Cour du Carrousel. The statue was the gift of the youth of America to France. The subscriptions of school children throughout the United States amounted to 50,000 dollars. Congress voted a further sum of 50,000.[1] The last 50,000 dollars were specially coined with the double effigy of Lafayette and Washington, and, sold at a premium, realized 150,000 dollars. The first of these medals was reserved for the President of the French Republic, and President McKinley caused it to be presented by the secretary of the Lafayette Commemorative Committee through General Porter. The co-operation of Congress and the act of the President of the United States constituted the inauguration of the monument to Lafayette an *official* ceremony. The Women of America had neglected to make their gift of the statue of Washington *official*, and this oversight was discovered too late to be remedied. Perhaps there was jealousy on the part of the

[1] The inscriptions on the Lafayette monument are as follows:

1st. "Élevé par des enfants des États-Unis en mémoire reconnaissante à Lafayette, Homme d'État, Soldat, Patriote."

2nd. "Lorsque la liberté fut un jour en peril il jeta son épée entre elle et l'ennemi."

3rd. "Cette tablette est un tribut de la Société Nationale 'Les Filles de la Révolution Américaine' à l'illustre mémoire de Lafayette, l'ami de l'Amérique, le compagnon d'armes de Washington, le Patriote des deux pays."

Lafayette Committee against the Washington Committee? How often Dick Burton said to me: "You Americans lack dignity!" For a fact, we act on grave occasions, at times, like spoiled children.

General Porter, United States Ambassador, presided at the ceremony, and made the opening address.

M. Loubet, President of the Republic, spoke, in part, as follows:—

"This magnificent monument consecrates the secular friendship and union of two great nations. . . .

"The spectacle of these two Republics penetrated in this moment by the same emotion and animated by the same ideas is not less an instruction than a fête. It shows that with nations as with individuals, the calculations of egotism are often more opposed to interest than the generous impulses of the heart.

"When Lafayette crossed the ocean to aid a distant people to conquer their independence, he was not the blind instrument of a heroic folly, he obeyed a profound political design, for he went to found the friendship of two great peoples on the common cult of Country and Liberty. . . ."

M. Thompson, of the Commemorative Committee, spoke in the name of the donors, the children of America, and was followed, finally, by Monsignor Ireland.

In October, 1900, as a result of the organization of a society known as the "Society in France, Sons of the American Revolution," of which the U.S. Ambassador was president and I registrar, a committee was formed to compose lists of the French soldiers and sailors who participated in the war for American independence. The committee was accorded the authority of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to consult the unpublished records of the army and navy, which were stored, for the most part, in the Archives Nationales in the Rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris. M. Merou, Consul de France, was chosen chairman of the committee, and was assigned the task of searching the records at the Ministry of War; the most arduous work, that of the rotting records in the Rue des Francs-Bourgeois, fell to my lot. There, in the damp chambers, where they had remained since the return of the French from America, lay the unpublished rolls of the fleets of d'Estaing, de Grasse, de Guichen, and the army of Rochambeau.

The Government of the French Republic courteously placed at my disposal two *maître-fourriers*, who laboured with me in the archives during an entire year. I profited by the cordial and sympathetic co-operation of M. Le Professeur G. Lacour-Gayet, de l'Ecole Supérieure de la Marine.

The work was completed (without index and

in French only) in October, 1901, and published under the care and expense of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which presented bound copies, through M. Jusserand, Ambassador of France at Washington, to the President of the United States and the Departments—the title of the volume being *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine*, 1778–83.[1]

During our residence in Paris, at 25 Rue Vineuse, we made the acquaintance of the Reverend Père Dom Beauchet-Filleau, of the Order of Benedictines. He was a saintly man,

[1] Subsequently, in Washington in 1905, the author, by request, undertook the task of translation and the constitution of an alphabetical index of the 50,000 names. In this work he was generously seconded by General Thomas Vincent, U.S.A., retired. General Vincent applied to Mr. W. H. Taft, then Secretary of War, who caused Major Beach and Captain Rhodes of the General Staff of the Army to assist the author. The book was finally completed (preserving its title) and published with French and English texts, and an alphabetical index, as Senate Document 77, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, 1905.

At a meeting of the District of Columbia Society, March 14th, 1906, General Thomas Vincent introduced the following resolution :—

" *Whereas*, as stated in a resolution of the National Society, S.A.R., ' an exceedingly advantageous and effective work has been accomplished, in France, in ascertaining the names and services of the many thousands of French sailors and soldiers who assisted the Colonists in the War of the American Revolution,' and

" *Whereas*, the National Executive Committee of the Society of the S.A.R. tendered ' its appreciative congratulations, and warm thanks for their untiring efforts, in the direction stated,' to Colonel Chaillé-Long, the compatriot Registrar of the Society in France of the S.A.R., ' and to all others who have co-operated in forwarding the excellent work accomplished,' and

" *Whereas*, Colonel Charles Chaillé-Long, as editor and translator, has continued his valuable and energetic services connected with the publication, by the Government of France,

whom we greatly admired, and for whom we had great sympathy because of the already threatened persecutions which have since driven his order, as well as others, into exile. He came to see us frequently. And we welcomed him heartily, not only because he, too, was from the Poitou, but because of his learning and interesting conversation. He was the editor of the celebrated *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique des Anciennes Familles du Poitou*, which had been founded by his ascendants five hundred years before. The reverend father, besides, was allied to the Chaillé family.

On August 7th, 1901, we were shocked beyond expression to learn by telegram from Arco, in the Austrian Tyrol, of the death of our dearly beloved friend General Baratieri. He died of cancer, but it was more truth to say that he died of a broken heart. Crispi forced him to fight

of the French combatants in the War of the American Revolution, with the result that there is now an American edition in English of the publication, with an index of names—known as Senate Document No. 77, 58th Congress, Second Session—which may be the means of adding many members to the National Society S.A.R. in the United States, and thus further perpetuate the memory of the men who, by their services or sacrifices during the war of the American Revolution, achieved the independence of the American people:

"Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, that the Board of Management of the District of Columbia Society, S.A.R., hereby tenders to Compatriot Charles Chaillé-Long its appreciative fraternal greetings, and cordial thanks for his valuable part in the great work which will perfect the records of the United States' War Department, and perpetuate, in the English language, the names of French combatants who participated in the War for American Independence."

when the Italian forces were so outnumbered—it was folly; and yet Crispi's desperate fortunes required the one chance. Crispi, it may be added, followed his victim to the grave a few hours after the death of General Baratieri. At my friends' desire I introduced him to Madame Adam, and at her request I wrote a review of his book[1] *Mémoires d'Afrique.*

My friends in Egypt, as well as in France, to whom I am bound by ties of sincere affection and sympathy, surprised that the Government of the French Republic had not conferred upon me the Cross of the Legion of Honour, made frequent inquiries to learn why no action had been taken. An investigation disclosed the fact that the *dossier* at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, composed of numerous original documents, was not to be found.

The Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, at the request of my friend M. Albin Rozet, deputy, ordered an inquiry to be made by the French Consul at Alexandria, and I was assured by M. de Lacratelle, Consul, in person, that on November 12th, 1894, or thereabouts, after inquiry, he had made a report to the Ministry establishing the facts and in the most flattering terms. These facts were subsequently brought to the attention of M. Myre de Vilers, deputy,

[1] Vide *Mémoires d'Afrique* (1892–6). Preface de M. Jules Claretie, de l'Académie Française. General O. Baratieri. Paris, *Nouvelle Review*, p. 554, le 15 août, 1899.

GENERAL ORESTE BARATIERI

who, seconded by the cordial aid of M. Vignaud, first secretary of the U.S. Embassy, caused the Government of the French Republic to confer upon me, in recognition of "exceptional services," the Cross of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

We returned to America, leaving Paris November 7th, 1902, booked for New York via the Transatlantique *La Bretagne* to sail on the 8th.

Our friend Mr. B——, whom we left at Bordeaux, had been transferred, and was Deputy-Consul of the U.S. at Havre; he met us on our arrival, took us to the Consulate, where we renewed acquaintance with Captain T——, the Consul. Thence to Mr. B——'s home, whence, accompanied by Mrs. B——, we were conducted to a hotel restaurant, where we dined with our hosts and drank Bordeaux, which we were reminded we would soon exchange for ice-water in America.

CHAPTER XXIV

ON November 18th we were in New York, where we were welcomed by a host of friends.

On December 30th, 1902, I visited my old home in Princess Anne. I was tendered a delightful noon luncheon at the Rectory of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church by the genial and sympathetic Rector, the Reverend R. G. Hamilton, who invited to meet me many friends of my youthful days,[1] classmates at the old Washington Academy. Alas! How many vacant places, how many absent who had welcomed me on my return from Central Africa in 1876!

In the month of February, 1903, I endeavoured to establish in Baltimore a Commercial Geographical Society after the model of those in Paris and Bordeaux, of which societies I was a member. I had the honour of being invited, through the Secretary of the Board of Trade, to address that body, suggesting the utilization, as in European societies of like character, of

[1] Among those who that day came to meet me, on the invitation of the Reverend Mr. Hamilton, were: Judge Henry Page, Judge W. G. Woolford, Dr. Gale, Dr. Goldsborough, Mr. Henry J. Waters, R. Woolford, H. P. Dashiell, Omar A. Jones, T. McCoy, G. W. Gray, etc.

the very large number of commercial travellers who made Baltimore a rendezvous, the commercial traveller being manifestly a potent factor in the promotion of trade. The great fire in Baltimore of February 8th, 1904, put a stop abruptly to these efforts and we removed to Washington.

In the summer of 1903 I had the inspiration to revisit the scene of boyhood excursions—an island in the Atlantic Ocean seven miles from the coast of Maryland and Virginia. "Chincoteague Island" takes its name from a once powerful Indian tribe of that name—now a myth. Chincoteague, barring the plague of mosquitoes, is almost *terra incognita*, and aside from its delightful isolation and wildness, excepting the annual fête of "pony penning" of wild horses, which is novel and exciting sport, it possesses the charm of luscious oysters, clams, fish, and marsh birds of which there is no equal. Chincoteague is otherwise distinguished, for it has the honour of being the first land discovered in North America, exception being made of the visit of the Norsemen in the eighth century.

Bozman, in his *History of Maryland*, alluding to the voyage of Sebastian Cabot in May, 1498, says: "He discovered Newfoundland, which he called Prima Vista. Continuing his course westward he soon reached the continent of North America and sailed along it thence to the thirty-eighth parallel. . . . Cabot in this voyage

first saw and discovered that part of the State of Maryland bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. . . . He must have had a view of Fenwick and Assateague Islands, and probably looked into Sinepuxent or Chincoteague inlets" (Bozman, Vol. I, page 13).

I was living with my wife, who would accompany me in the peaceful repose of this island retreat, when one day we were awakened to the dread realities of a storm which raged three days and nights and threatened to float the island—destroy it. I lived—we lived—to tell the tale. I told it first in the following telegram to the *Baltimore Sun*, when it was possible to reach the mainland wires :—

"CHINCOTEAGUE ISLAND, VA., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. (delayed).—The storm that broke upon this island Thursday at 4 p.m., and which raged without intermission and with unexampled fury, ceased Sunday night.

"Chincoteague has been wrecked fore and aft. All the houses, or nearly all those built on the bay side of the street, extending for five miles, have been submerged or swept by wind and wave. Singular to relate, no loss of life has been reported, but what is the fate of the unfortunate cabin dwellers in the wake of the torrent that broke in from the sea over Assateague Island, and of the life-saving station on Assateague beach, no one knows at this writing.

"A refugee from the interior low-lying lands describes a dramatic incident. When the waters of the canal broke their bounds with an ominous roar some of the negroes in a dwelling near by rushed from their cabin and fled towards a white man's habitation, rending the

air with cries and supplications for safety and protection. Lifting his wife and babe in his strong arms, the white man led the van of fugitives, who succeeded in reaching an elevated point as the torrent swept by in its mad course.

"The streets of Chincoteague present a sorry spectacle strewn with the débris of houses and boats, dead fowls and cattle washed from the interior of the island, for the safety of whose inhabitants grave fears are entertained. The schoolhouses and churches have served as refuges for the unfortunates who have been forced to flee from their submerged or wrecked habitations.

"It will be recalled that Admiral Sigsbee, United States Navy, visited Chincoteague on the 30th ultimo with the view of reporting upon the establishment by the Government of a wireless telegraph station. The critical and isolated situation of Chincoteague was sufficiently manifested in the hurricane of September 15. The awful catastrophe of the present moment should inspire the Government to lose no time in establishing the proposed wireless station, plus a life-saving station, at Chincoteague for its 3000 inhabitants. For three days and more they have been in imminent danger of destruction and without hope, by reason of their complete isolation, of succour from the mainland or the life-saving stations at Assateague, Accocomson or Wallops Island.

"The present storm recalls the tidal wave which well-nigh destroyed the island September 3, 1821. Chincoteague was then swept by a wave, which rolled over from the sea to the bay. Hundreds of the saved quitted the island in fright and Chincoteague was for a while abandoned."

During the winter of 1904 my friends of my native town and county, and particularly my

friend the Hon. Joshua T. Miles, and Dr. Atkinson, with an affectionate regard of which I shall ever be gratefully mindful, brought my modest services to the attention of the General Assembly of my native State, in the form of a resolution introduced by Senator Dashiell, and the representatives of Somerset, Milbourne, Riggin, and Miles, with the result that the General Assembly, March 3rd, 1904, conferred upon me, by a unanimous vote, the signal honour of a resolution of thanks and a gold medal (*Laws of Maryland*, 1904, chap. 3, page 1270).

The medal, a veritable work of art, was completed in October, 1904, and bestowed in a solemn ceremony in Baltimore October 21st, 1904, by the Governor of Maryland in the presence of a distinguished assemblage of Marylanders.[1]

[1] "INSTITUT EGYPTIEN, CAIRO,

"*May* 5th, 1904.

"Report of the Séance de l'Institut, April 18th, 1904.

Translation.—Extract.

"The secretary-general has received the translation of a resolution, dated March 3rd, 1904, of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, voting thanks to M. Chaillé-Long, honorary member of the Institut Egyptien, for services rendered to science, the eminent part taken by him in the solution of the problem of the Nile sources, his valiant conduct during the Egyptian expeditions in the Soudan, his devotion during the events in 1882 at Alexandria, and authorizing the Government of the said State to cause a gold medal to be struck of the size of one-half silver dollar, with device and motto appropriate words, which will be offered Colonel Chaillé-Long as a mark of high esteem and appreciation of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland.

"M. Gavillot, considering that the services rendered by our confrère during the time he was in the service of Egypt, his zeal

GOLD MEDAL, AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, N.Y.

GOLD MEDAL, ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND

MEDALS AWARDED TO COLONEL CHAILLÉ-LONG

Comptroller Gordon T. Atkinson, an old friend, introduced me to the Governor, and said that it was with great pleasure that the State of Maryland took this form of showing its appreciation and esteem of so distinguished a son of the State. He spoke of my services in Central Africa and Egypt and of the pride which all Marylanders felt in my achievements.

The Governor read the following resolution passed by the General Assembly :—

" Resolved, by the General Assembly of Maryland, that the thanks of the Assembly are hereby tendered to Colonel Charles Chaillé-Long, native of Maryland, for his services to science, the prominent part taken in the final solution of the problem of the Nile sources ; for his gallant conduct when attacked by savage tribes in Africa, and particularly in the affair ' M'rooli,' in which he was wounded ; all of which achievements were recognized by promotion, decoration, and a general order by the Egyptian Government published to the army. Also for his courage, devotion, and abnegation in accepting the unremunerative charge of the United States Consulate in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1882, when abandoned by its titular agents in a moment of peril ; for his services rendered in the interest of humanity when Alexandria was bombarded and burned and when

as a resident member of our society, proposes that the document shall be preserved in the archives and that congratulations be sent in the name of the Institut Egyptien to our savant and sympathetic confrère.

" J. C. Aristide Gavillot,

" Secretary-general."

The Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire addressed the author, April 27th, 1904, by the intermediary of Dr. Bonola Bey, secretary-general, the compliments and congratulations of the society.

hundreds were saved from massacre, including the Khedive's family and court, and when the Consulate, archives, and city of Alexandria were saved from entire destruction. Be it further

"Resolved, that in testimony of his distinguished services in Africa and at Alexandria, the Government is hereby authorized and required to have made a gold medal of the size of one silver half-dollar, with appropriate device and motto, also a copy of these resolutions, properly inscribed, and cause the same to be presented to Colonel Chaillé-Long in testimony of the high sense of his services entertained by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland."

In responding to the Governor's remarks, and in receiving the gift from the State, I said :—

"Excellency, I am profoundly sensible of the great honour conferred upon me by the General Assembly of our native State. I appreciate in the highest degree and above all other distinctions the unanimous action of the General Assembly, the cordial and affectionate interest manifested by Senator Dashiell and delegates for Somerset; by my fellow-townsmen and countians, among whom is our distinguished Comptroller, Dr. Atkinson, who has given me special proof of his affectionate regard in the recognition of my modest services.

"Excellency, the action of the General Assembly has for me a special significance. I recall that my great-grandfather, Peter Chaillé and Solomon Long, whose names were given me as a patriotic patronymic, were both appointed by the Senate of Maryland as officers of the Maryland troops in the war for American Independence. The Senate, among other distinctions conferred, appointed Senator Peter Chaillé colonel of the First Eastern Shore Battalion of Infantry, and subsequently selected him, because of distinguished service

to the State, to sign and ratify the Constitution of the United States in 1788. It was in the ranks of the First Eastern Shore regiment, nearly a century later, a mere boy, I learned the first lesson in the school of the soldier, which served me in campaigns in Africa and won for me the distinguished consideration of the State. I may claim, therefore, to be in a certain measure the ward of the Assembly of which Colonel Peter Chaillé was a member—a child of the regiment which he once commanded.

"Excellency, I accept this beautiful medal, with all the precious souvenirs it awakens, with inexpressible pride and appreciation.

"The device of Lord Baltimore—'Fatti maschi, parole femine'—will be a perpetual sentiment to worthy deeds. The device of the State—'Scuto bonæ voluntatis tuæ coronasti nos'—will remind me ever of the protecting shield of dear old Maryland.

"The device of the great Colbert—'Pro rege saepe, pro patria semper'—I modestly adopt as my own, and add it to the shield of the ancient Chaillé arms, interpreting the device as a confession of loyalty to the Chief Executive; but, above all other considerations and attachments for man, loyalty in excelsis to the State—Maryland, my Maryland, for ever and always."

On March 11th, 1904, I was appointed *délégué adjoint* in the delegation of the Société de Géographie de Paris to the eighth International Geographic Congress, which would assemble in Washington September 8th, 1904. The delegation was composed of M. Henri Cordier and M. Guillaume Grandidier. The Congress would be the guests of the National Geographic Society of Washington.

When I arrived on the 8th I found the assembled Congress, its numerous members in a state of revolt. The list of the délégués had been prepared without care, and names and titles misspelled and misapplied; it was simply an unfortunate *gâchis*, which threatened to provoke a diplomatic incident.

The President of the Congress appealed to me in the emergency, and at the sacrifice of my engagements I acceded to his wishes, and by a *tour de force*—that is, by working assiduously day and night—I created a proper list and thus saved the face of the National Geographic Society.

Nevertheless I prepared a paper, entitled "Les Provinces Equatoriales d'Egypte," and read it September 14th, 1904, in the séance presided over by M. Henry G. Bryant, president of the Philadelphia Geographical Society. The paper, it should be remarked, rendered praise to France for the great part that nation and its geographers had taken in Egypt and Africa. I said, indeed, that "the French expedition had inaugurated in Egypt an era of progress and civilization. The first act of Bonaparte, who had been a savant if he had not been a warrior, was the creation of the Institut d'Egypte (now Institut Egyptien), which created the celebrated commission charged with the scientific study of the country. Mohammed Aly, inspired by that French initiative, commenced the conquest and exploration of the Nile regions."

The Peace of Portsmouth, signed at Portsmouth, September 5th, 1905, between Russia and Japan, recalled my conversation with Secretary Blaine when I had returned from Corea in October, 1889. I had predicted, referring to our unfortunate interference with Corea's relation to China, which was that of "Little Brother," or ward, that the traditional ambitions and jealousies of both China and Japan would be provoked and there would be a conflict. The Peace of Portsmouth was confirmative of the prophecy, for that treaty was the signal of the passing of Corea as a nation.

Corea's friends, who were mostly missionaries —very good people, but very bad diplomats— appealed in vain to be admitted to the conference at Portsmouth. Was there something in the name of Corea's Ambassador, Pi-Kai-Yun? At any rate, the Corean was refused a place, and turned his face sadly eastward to the "Land of the Morning Calm."[1]

The part played in the comedy to convert Corea into a civilized nation was not flattering to the Government at Washington, which was unconsciously led by private interests, real "squeezers," to admit Corea into the family of nations. The fault lies with past administrations and reflects no discredit upon the present

[1] The Emperor of Corea and the ex-Emperor, his father, were deposed 1907. They were dignified as Kings belonging to a Japanese class. Corea was definitely annexed to Japan August 23rd, 1910.

Government at Washington. The passing of Corea as a nation recalls what a writer said of her advent into the family circle at the time of the treaty of Inchun, May 22nd, 1882. He wrote:—

"Poor Corea! A sad day has come for you. You who were so attractive, because so quaint and so retiring, will nevermore see that calm which has ever been the yearning of your soul; many evils are now before you, but of all the great calamities that might befall you, I can conceive of none greater than an attempt to convert you into a civilized nation."

In 1904–6 Bills were introduced in Congress tending to recognize my exceptional service to the United States Government in Egypt by appointment and retirement as brigadier-general in the United States Army. That the Government owed me such recognition was manifest, from the fact that the performance of the "exceptional service" involved the sacrifice of brigadier-general in the Egyptian Army, proffered me by the Khedive at the very moment the United States Government imposed upon me the direction of its Consulate at Alexandria, abandoned in a moment of peril by its titular agents. The place asked for by my friends was, in fact, only a modest *quid pro quo* suggested by the circumstances.

A sentiment of duty to the Army, for whose honour and *morale* I have profound regard, prompts me to cite an incident pertinent to the

foregoing. The author of the Bill H.R. 14,218 showed me a letter written him by the Military Secretary of the Army, General Ainsworth, in which he declared to my prejudice and erroneously that my service was rendered "to Egypt and not to the United States." "You will, of course, correct that statement, made to deceive the Military Committee," I said. "No, I cannot," rejoined Mr. F——, the representative; "it would provoke the Military Secretary's hostility, and I would obtain no favours, no pensions for my constituents." "Very good," I replied; "I will report this intermeddling to the Secretary of War," and I did so. My letter to the Secretary of War, January 29th, 1906, invited attention to the Military Secretary's unwarranted attempt to prejudice my case by statements manifestly false and misleading. I requested investigation, and expected that the charges would warrant his arraignment before a court-martial. Nevertheless the House Military Committee reported the Bill adversely, *eliminating therefrom the real character of the Bill.* The conclusions of the adverse report are as quoted below.[1]

[1] April 10, 1906.

ADVERSE REPORT—REPORT 3160.

[To accompany H.R. 14,218.]

"The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the Bill (H.R. 14,218) entitled 'A Bill authorizing the appointment and retirement of Charles Chaillé-Long with the rank of brigadier-general, United States Army,' report the same back to the House with the recommendation that it do not pass, but lie on the table.

The Military Secretary's service, it is well known, has been passed almost exclusively in the Bureau at Washington and in the corridors of Congress. To attain the rank of Major-General without a single military action or campaign is an exploit which might have challenged the admiration of the Borgia or excited envy in the army of La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein. In the Army of the United States, where other ideals prevail, this manifestation of nepotism has not failed to create profound indignation.

General Ainsworth[1] based his letter to the

"Colonel Chaillé-Long served with distinction in Maryland volunteers for nearly three years, being mustered out as captain. He then had an opportunity to obtain a commission in the Regular Army, as he states before the committee, but declined to be candidate for that appointment after passing an examination. His subsequent eventful life appears in a statement annexed—as chief-of-staff to General Gordon in Egypt, explorer, lawyer, taking charge of the American Consulate in Alexandria, and restoring order in the state of anarchy there in 1882 in command of marines and sailors, secretary of the Legation in Corea, and colonel and bey of Egyptian forces. He is a voluminous author and recognized by scientific and literary societies throughout the world.

"His services to Americans in Alexandria during the troubles mentioned have never been rewarded. They are testified to by many letters from officers of the Navy and others.

"These services, however, constitute no claim for a place on the retired list of the Regular Army, to which he never belonged and in which he declined to become an officer, and under the recommendations of two Secretaries of War we report the Bill adversely."

[1] On February 15, 1912, Major-General Ainsworth was suspended as Adjutant-General of the Army for "insubordination" and "insolence," on charges preferred by Secretary of War Stimson. Ainsworth was finally permitted to resign rather than appear before a court-martial, which would have inevitably dismissed him from the service.

representative in Congress (who would file, in the War Department, official testimony of claimant's services) upon the fallacious pretext that he was enjoined from adding to the record, remarking: "*However this may be, the service (of Chaillé-Long) was not rendered to the United States.*"

In my letter to the Secretary of War I pointed out the several misstatements in the Military Secretary's letter, and said: "The Secretary will remark the care with which all mention of the service in Alexandria is avoided by the Military Secretary, with the manifest purpose to mislead, the service at Alexandria being essentially a service rendered the U.S., as appears by the letter of Captain, now Rear-Admiral, Goodrich, U.S.N. (enclosed).

"I repeat there is apparent connexity with the recent unfavourable action of the Senate Military Committee in the matter of S. Bill 3108, that committee being given the false impression that the claimant's service 'was not rendered the U.S.' as asserted by the Military Secretary. I submit that service rendered the U.S. is properly a part of the military history of an officer whose history commences with his birth and may end only with his death.

"I refuse to believe, Mr. Secretary, that any arbitrary rule may apply to prevent a place being given in the War Office records for incidents in my military service (in the Egyptian

Army), accomplished under such circumstances as to win for me mention in General Orders to the Army which reflect quite as much credit upon the United States War Office as upon myself. "

The thanks and approval of the State Department *for service to the U.S. at Alexandria* as U.S. Consul, were reaffirmed.

It is the practice in all armies and in all countries to reward their soldiers and citizens for " exceptional services." History recites that when Herodotus read a part of his History to his countrymen assembled at the Olympian Games they presented him with ten talents of gold, a sum equal to $10,800.

In modern times Great Britain recognized the services of Nelson by the gift of vast estates; Wellington was raised to the rank of Duke and was given a principality, vast estates, and millions in money for his victories; General Roberts was raised to the peerage, voted the thanks of the nation, and presented with more than half a million dollars for the march from Cabul to Candahar and for South Africa; General Wolseley was raised to the peerage for Tel-el-Kebir and presented with large sums; General Kitchener was made a peer and given large sums of money for Khartoum.

Encouraged by what Great Britain had done for subjects who had merited well of the country, and without bitterness for what my Govern-

ment had failed to do, I sought my devoted friend the late Senator McEnery, of Louisiana, who not only gave me his sympathy, but made me go with him to see the Secretary of State, to whom I submitted an oral brief of my case. The Secretary invited me to submit corroborated documents to Mr. Robert Bacon, Assistant-Secretary of State, and subsequently Secretary of State, who caused the solicitor of the Department to investigate the matter and report thereon—the solicitor's favourable report was the subject of the following letter addressed to Secretary Bacon:—

"U.S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
"*January* 15, 1909.

"The Honourable the Secretary of State.

"MR. SECRETARY,—I had the pleasure of presenting to you personally in April, 1906, my friend Colonel Chaillé-Long, who, having been refused appointment and retirement as a brigadier-general in the U.S. Army (exceptional services to U.S. Government at Alexandria, Egypt, 1882), requested the friendly offices of the Department of State to procure his reappointment in the Egyptian Army as brigadier-general to be retired.

"Colonel Chaillé-Long bases his request upon the exceptional services rendered Egypt while in the Egyptian Army from 1869–77, when he was obliged to quit that army by reason of wound and maladies contracted in service in Africa (without pension); also upon *exceptional services rendered the U.S. Government in* 1882, when, during a period of peril, he accepted the unremunerated post of *U.S. Consul, ad interim, caused by*

the disgraceful absence from duty, flight, and abandonment of the U.S. Consulate (Alexandria) by its titular agents.

"In this service this American officer won great distinction, which reflected credit upon the American Army in which he had previously served and upon the American name. This service to the United States was performed by him at the sacrifice of his personal interests. The Khedive Thewfik, in June, 1882, and again in July, *proffered him reappointment as brigadier-general, Egyptian Army* (prior to the British occupation). Chaillé-Long, to his honour be it said, declined the Khedive's offer that he might be free to perform the ungrateful service *which your Department imposed upon him.* This service reflected honour and credit upon the American Government, and because our Government had given Chaillé-Long no material recognition of his service and sacrifices I introduced a Bill in the Senate to reappoint and retire him in 1904.

"A Bill authorizing his appointment and retirement was reported adversely from the House Committee on Military Affairs, and I cite therefrom the following :—

"'His services to *Americans* in Alexandria during the trouble mentioned have never been rewarded. They are testified to by many letters from officers of the Navy and others.'

"While this confesses that his services have never been rewarded, the report should have reproduced at least one of these letters, which would have shown conclusively that the service was rendered to the *U.S. Government,* and that 'the service to Americans' was only an incident of his service, *vide* the copy of a letter herewith appended from Lieutenant-Commander Goodrich, now Rear-Admiral U.S. Navy, retired.

"In connection with this report there is also appended a report to H.R. 86, introduced in the House by the late

Hon. S. S. Cox, of New York, in 1885, with explanatory remarks for the information of the State Department.

"The Assembly of Maryland, January session, 1904, voted unanimously a resolution of thanks and a gold medal, on which is engraved :—

"'To Colonel C. Chaillé-Long in testimony of his services to science and his valiant conduct in Central Africa and Egypt.'

"These services in Egypt and Africa I repeat have reflected credit upon the U.S. Government, and the American public will learn with surprise that they have not been recognized materially and especially by the State Department directly interested.

"It was my opinion that he merited in a high degree the appointment and retirement in the regular army of the United States, in which he had previously served (U.S.V.), as a very modest recognition of his services to Government at Alexandria. But inasmuch as the House Military Committee has reported adversely, the State Department should surely lend him its friendly offices to procure his reappointment in the Egyptian Army.

"It was understood with Mr. Bacon that, when Dr. Scott, solicitor of Department, had established and reported upon the equities of his claim, during the tenure of office of Mustapha Fehmy (E. Minister), personally hostile to Chaillé-Long, the matter should be held in abeyance. Now that the Minister Mustapha Fehmy has fallen, Chaillé-Long has requested that Mr. Iddings, our diplomatic agent in Cairo, may be authorized to act through the present Minister Boutros Ghali.

"If the Secretary's non-response to the several communications of Colonel Chaillé-Long are to be interpreted as a refusal to comply with his request, I respectfully urge that this distinguished servant of the Govern-

ment should be informed of the reason of the Department's non-compliance.

"I respectfully request, Mr. Secretary, that I may be furnished with a copy of Dr. Scott's report[1] which was read to Colonel Chaillé-Long, a request which I have made before, but which has not yet been acknowledged.

"I have the honour to be, Mr. Secretary,

"Very truly yours,

"S. D. McENERY,

"U.S. Senator from La."

[1] Since the above was written Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, has caused action to be taken on the basis of the solicitor's report.

CHAPTER XXV

CHRISTMAS Day! The sorrow which has come to me and many others this day will not pass for a long time. George Canning Hurlbut, librarian of the American Geographical Society, met with a frightful accident from which he died on the 25th. His daughter Ilione, assistant-librarian, was very seriously injured. Hurlbut was my most sympathetic and devoted friend, and I loved him truly. Mr. Chandler Robbins, chairman of the Council, expresses best what all members of the Society feel deeply. Mr. Robbins said in his address to the Council, January 21st, 1909 :—

" For twenty-five years he was editor of the *Bulletin* and chief librarian of the Society. His learning and erudition were profound. His modesty, kindness, and sweetness of character were phenomenal. Unselfishness, loyalty, accuracy, conscientiousness and devotion to duty were of the essence of his character. His love of truth was equalled only by his detestation of cant, pretence and sham. He was so modest and retiring that he was less known to the world at large than many who make more noise but

have not half his knowledge, worth, or capacity. But to this Society, where he was known, appreciated, loved, and relied upon as an ideal librarian and loyal friend, his loss comes as an appalling disaster.

"I hope a motion will be made at the proper time to-day, that a committee be appointed to propose suitable resolutions in regard to the death of Mr. Hurlbut."

President Archer M. Huntington opened the Annual Meeting of the American Geographical Society, January 26th, 1909, with the following remarks :—

"It is my reluctant duty to recall to you to-night for the last time the name of George C. Hurlbut. But if it be not my privilege to bring that name to your memory hereafter, I know well that it will not pass and be soon forgotten. A friend has left us, an old and well-tried friend, kind and gentle and faithful to all his trusts, who worked ever with that brave silence which is the gift of modesty, founded upon ability and love of truth. Of the wealth which is so called, he had little; but of that wealth which the soul stores up out of the essential goodness of the world through patient living, he had a store untold. And of that glorious wealth he gave us much. So in his departure we are poorer, but the love for our friend has grown more deep."

The Council adopted the following resolutions :—

"WHEREAS: Mr. George Canning Hurlbut, librarian of the American Geographical Society, on December 25th last departed this life: and

"WHEREAS: The members of the Council and of the Society have thus lost a colleague and officer, in speaking of whose death there is demanded an expression of universal love for his personality, coupled with sincere admiration for the work he has accomplished. His qualities were those of truth and gentleness, and throughout the twenty-five years during which he was editor of the *Bulletin* and chief librarian of this Society, his character made itself felt in the maintenance of that high ideal of dignity and scholarship to which the members of this Council may justly look with satisfaction and admiration. He accepted his trust with modesty, and with modesty he maintained it to the end. Our Society owes to him profound gratitude and lasting respect.

"There is, perhaps, a certain fitness that a life for so many years faithfully devoted to the interests and efforts of others should itself be given up on Christmas Day.

"*Therefore be it resolved:* That we, the Councillors of the American Geographical Society, on behalf of ourselves and its members, desire to make permanent memorial of our sense of deep bereavement, and to offer to the family of our deceased friend the assurance of our profound sympathy.

"*And be it further resolved:* That this minute be entered on the records of the Society, and that a copy of these resolutions be suitably engrossed and presented to the sorrowing family."

In 1905 I wrote him of my writing my memoirs, and received the following reply :—

"THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,
"NO. 15 WEST 81ST STREET, NEW YORK,
"*Nov.* 9, 1905.

"MY DEAR COL.,

"The actual writing of your memoirs must have given you the heartache many times. To look back on the long road where we left our hopes and our youth is to feel the utter emptiness of life too deeply for words. We are like the birds in the Spanish story, flying in at one window and out of another. That we live through the years is a wonder, and to tell the story of them.

"Your career has been full of adventure and of agitation. Have you been able to verify dates and associate the men and the incidents? Memory plays us false so often.

"You, perhaps, kept your notes. I never did, and when I have occasionally tried to fix the date of some event in my life I have learned to distrust my memory, though it is called good.

"Sincerely yours,

"GEO. C. HURLBUT.

"Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long."

In 1907 I wrote my friend, sending him a draft of my appeal to King Edward VII as patron of the Royal Geographical Society. He did not think my letter would reach, and wrote me as follows :—

" *Sept.* 28, 1907.

" My dear Col. Long,

" Your questions about Stanford's map and Lake Ibrahim answer themselves. Lake Ibrahim is not to be found and your name goes with it.

" Stanford is in relation with the Royal Geog. Soc., but the Society is responsible for his publications without the Society's name.

" Do you believe that your letter will reach King Edward ? I fear that there are too many obstructions in the way.

" I shall see Mr. Holt.

" Sincerely yours,

" Geo. C. Hurlbut.

" Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long."

" *Nov.* 26, 1907.

" My dear Col. Long,

" The letter just received, with Sir George Goldie's[1] enclosed, is nothing less than a triumph for you in more than one way. You believed that you would reach the King.

" It seemed unlikely to me, with all the obstruc-

[1] *Vide* letter of Sir George Goldie, in Appendix I.

tions in the way, but Sir George's letter settles it. The King has spoken. Goldie must be a better man than Markham.

" I congratulate you.

" Sincerely yours,

" GEO. C. HURLBUT.

" Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long."

The following is a reply concerning a letter written by Stanley to Colonel Grant depreciating Lake Ibrahim, whose discovery had rendered both Stanley and Grant very jealous and very mad. Should I send the Society a communication on the subject ?

" *Feby.* 6, 1908.

" MY DEAR COL. LONG,

" The Stanley question is not an easy one to answer. If the story can be told without heat and with the support of undeniable facts, there is no reason why it should not appear. Of course, the Society wishes to avoid anything like prejudice or animosity, especially in the case of a dead man, who has left a great name. The matter should be treated impersonally, with the temper of a historian, *sine ira ac studio.*

" Sincerely yours,

" GEO. C. HURLBUT.

" Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long."

Dr. Schweinfurth, former president of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire, was

delegate to the Geographical Congress at Geneva. I wrote my friend that Dr. Schweinfurth, with knowledge of the facts, would perhaps be glad in the interest of Egypt to lend his aid in the matter of Lake Ibrahim.

" *Sept.* 29, 1908.

" My dear Col. Long,

" Schweinfurth did not answer me. It looks as if he cherishes resentment against you. We come upon that petty spirit at every turn and yet it gives a shock of surprise, in spite of experience :—

" Brazen it out as we may, we men are a little breed.

" If a word comes, you shall have it.

" Sincerely yours,

" Geo. C. Hurlbut.

" Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long.

I wrote Hurlbut of my meeting Sir Harry Johnston in Washington, and of his most unfriendly expressions in his book about me. Sir Harry had indicated that Sir Henry Stanley was responsible. After the death of my friends Sir Samuel Baker and Sir Richard Burton, whose opinions I esteemed highly, I always consulted Hurlbut, whose judgment, love of truth, and conscientiousness were constant and unfailing. Sir Harry was convinced that I had been very unfairly treated and frankly avowed it. I sent

Hurlbut a copy of Sir Harry's letter, and he answered thus :—

" *Oct.* 2, 1908.

" DEAR COL. LONG,

" Your news is excellent. Johnston means to undo what has been done, so far as he can. His offer to be your advocate at the Speke anniversary is manly, and I think you will strengthen his hands by pressing lightly on the R.G.S.[1]

" He is not conscious of wilful wrong to you—not even in following Joshua—and if you take him at his word he can do more for you than anyone.

" I should not allude to Keltie; J and K are side by side in the alphabet.

" The Council will be glad to receive your communication.

" Sincerely yours,

" GEO. C. HURLBUT.

" Col. Ch. Chaillé-Long."

On December 25th, just before taking the fatal automobile ride, he wrote me a letter, which was the last act of his life. I read the letter, which he manifestly posted himself on the way to dine *en famille*. The next day I read the announcement of his death.

On May 29th, 1909, the author and Major Morris Morgan, representing the Egyptian Army,

[1] *Vide* Sir Harry Johnston's letter in Appendix I, " What it cost to solve the Nile Source Problem."

were invited by Rear-Admiral T. H. Stevens, U.S. Navy, retired, and Brigadier-General B. K. Roberts, U.S. Army, retired, to assist in the unveiling of a monument erected in Arlington National Cemetery to the memory of our friend and comrade Robert Morris Rogers,[1] late major in the 2nd Artillery, U.S. Army, formerly colonel in the General Staff of the Egyptian Army.

There was no mention on the monument of our comrade's honourable service in Egypt, and we were told that this was in conformity with rules and regulations of the War Department construed by the Military Secretary as excluding all mention except service in the United States Army.

"How absurd!" I remarked. "I was some time Military Secretary of the Egyptian Army, and the records there were based upon the principle that the date of birth and death of an officer being a matter of record, it followed that all the events of his life, and certainly all military events, from cradle to grave, were proper subjects of record. Anything less than this was not a complete military history. Besides, Rogers was in the Egyptian Army, being at the same time an officer of the United States

[1] On the monument was sculptured: "Robert Morris Morgan. 1843–1906. Private 3rd W. Va. Cav. 1861; Lieut. 5th W. Va, Inf. and 73rd Ohio 1863. Grad. U.S. Military Academy 1867; Lieut. and Capt. 2nd U.S. Artillery 1867–1901; Major U.S. Army 1905, General Howard's Staff Battle of Gettysburg. A devoted friend, a man of honor, a good soldier."

Army, from which he was detached on the authority of the Secretary of War on the recommendation of General Sherman, then commanding the U.S. Army. I am not sure," I added, " but that Section 1226 of the U.S. Revised Statutes (which includes all the officers of U.S. Volunteers in the Civil War) may not entitle the service of Americans in the Egyptian Army to be regarded as continuous. Congress, in any event, should promptly pass a resolution defining clearly what shall constitute the military history of officers of the United States Army and Navy."

CHAPTER XXVI

ONE day, the 9th of April, 1907, I was leisurely glancing over *Le Journal*, of Paris, when my eye caught the once familiar name of Prince Saïd Ali. His dethronement, it appears, had become a *cause célèbre* and was being discussed in the Chambre des Députés, to which he had appealed to be re-established on his throne as Sultan of the Grand Comoro. "Here," I exclaimed, "without doubt, is my long-lost Vizir, who I had been told was dead." I seized a pen, and wrote to know if indeed he was Prince Ali. Three months later I received a reply written in French, and which, dated St. Denis, Réunion, June 16, 1907, began thus :—

"Au nom du Dieu clément et miséricordieux !

"Le Prince Saïd Ali, ben Sultan Saïd Omar, Sultan de la Grande Comore, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, à Monsieur le Colonel Chaillé-Long, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, etc. Salut ! "

The Sultan's letter,[1] in French, expressed his

[1] "Au nom du Dieu Clément et Miséricordieux !

"Le Prince Saïd Ali, Sultan de la Grande Comore, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Ben Sultan Saïd Omar.

à

"Monsieur le Colonel Ch. Chaillé-Long,

"Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, etc.,

"États-Unis.

"Salut !

pleasure in renewing acquaintance; he recalled the voyage on the Egyptian mail steamer to

"MONSIEUR LE COLONEL,

"J'ai le plaisir de vous accuser réception de votre très honorée du 9 Avril 1907.

"Je me souviens bien, quoique j'étais très jeune encore, d'avoir voyagé sur un paquebot Egyptien jusqu'à Suez pour me rendre au Caire chez S. A. le Khédive feu Ismail Pacha. Mais je ne me rappelle pas exactement de votre physionomie, il y a si longtemps déjà de cela.

"J'avais même fait voir à ce Commandant un canon de mon invention, fait en plusieurs pièces et se démontant facilement; il m'avait pris tellement en admiration qu'il m'avait surnommé le Petit Conquérant.

"Je me trouvais en pays de connaissance au Caire, et j'ai été présenté à plusieurs notabilités de l'endroit notamment; Sherif Pacha, Olagnier Bey, Godard Bey—les Piétris—Le Chevalier—Oudin Boutros Bey et plusieurs hauts personnages dont les noms m'échâppent; j'ai été pendant la durée de mon pèlerinage l'hôte de S. A. le Khédive.

"Maintenant tout est changé! Tout passe, tout lasse, tout casse; aujourd'hui j'ai beaucoup vieilli et vous verrez par la photographie ci-jointe que les années, et surtout mes 14 ans d'exil, commencent à faire de moi un jeune vieillard!

"Je vous remercie infiniment de la marque de bienveillante sympathie que vous me témoignez et de l'intérêt que vous me portez; j'ai fait lire et j'ai fait traduire en français l'article très élogieuse paru dans le 'Star de Washington,' mille remerciements pour votre noble intention de publier et de reproduire ma photographie dans vos mémoires qui seront publiés en toutes les langues.

"En tout cas si ce n'était pas moi qui avais eu l'honneur de faire votre connaissance et de voyager àbord de votre bateau vers 1875-76, je vous prie alors de me considérer du nombre de vos amis, puisqu'on dit que: 'Les amis des amis sont des amis.'

"Ainsi que vous avez lu dans le 'Journal' de Paris, ma juste cause passionne et intéresse beaucoup de gens aux cœurs nobles et compatissants, et d'après les dèmarches de Me. Olagnier mon défenseur, et les investigations de M. Fd. Hauser, rédacteur au 'Journal,' j'ai grand espoir dans l'issue de mon affaire, et j'ai la ferme conviction que leurs louables efforts seront couronnés de succès, et cela dans un avenir très prochain.

"Non seulement je vous accorde l'autorisation de publier dans votre livre ma photographie et les souvenirs de mon pays,

SAÏD ALI BEN SAÏD OMAR, SULTAN OF THE GRAND COMORO,
AT THE AGE OF FIFTY-THREE YEARS

Suez; that he showed the captain of the steamer a model of a cannon of his invention, and the captain, in admiration, had surnamed him the "Little Conqueror"; that he was the guest of the Khedive in Cairo; that he was well taken care of and made the acquaintance of many of my friends, among whom, Cherif Pasha, Olagnier Bey, Pietri, Godard, and Boutros Bey.

The Sultan sent me his photograph, lamented his changed appearance and his fourteen years of exile, which had made him a "young old man."

M. Olagnier was the defender of his cause before the Chamber of Deputies, and he hoped for justice and re-establishment; he thanked me for espousing his cause, accorded me authority to publish his letter, and asked for my photo-

mais je vous remercie encore une fois de cet acte d'humanité et de grande générosité émanant d'un cœur èminemment noble et bienveillant.

"J'ai remercié Monsieur Adrien Bonhoure, gouverneur de la Réunion, du bon accueil fait à votre lettre et de l'empressement spontané qu'il a mis à me la faire parvenir.

"Afin de bien rappeler votre physionomie, je vous serais infiniment reconnaissant de vouloir bien me faire parvenir votre photographie.

"Veuillez agréer, Monsieur et cher Colonel, l'assurance de ma vive gratitude en même temps que l'hommage de mes sentiments distingués.

"Qu'Allah vous protége, Monsieur le Colonel, ainsi que toute votre famille, et qu'il vous accorde toutes ses bénédictions.

"LE SULTAN SAÏD ALI; 30 IÈME,

"Ben Sultan Said Omar.

"St. Denis (Réunion), le 16 Juin 1907."

graph that he might recall my physiognomy, and concluded his letter thus :—

" Qu'Allah vous protége, Monsieur le Colonel: ainsi que toute votre famille, et qu'il vous accorde toutes ses bénédictions.

" Votre ami,

LE SULTAN SAÏD ALI, 30 IÈME,

" Ben Sultan Saïd Omar."

The memoir of Saïd Ali submitted to the Chamber of Deputies is too long for reproduction, but the following extract, preserving the text written by himself, will add interest to the case of the deposed Sultan, who writes :—

" I have not the talent of writing, and my life has been so full of incident that the recollection thereof is somewhat confused.

" My name is Saïd Ali, son of Saïd Omar, Sultan, of the Grand Comoro Island, Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur, exiled to the island of Réunion by the Government of the French Republic. May Allah protect and fortify all those who are innocent !

" I was born in the Grand Comoro. From my infancy my maternal grandfather, the Sultan Achmed, and my well-beloved father, the Sultan Saïd Omar, of Anjouan—may Allah accord them his grace and blessings !—sent me to Mayotte for instruction to learn to read and write French. Whilst at the Mayotte, where I remained five years, my grandfather Achmed, of the Grand Comoro, made his will constituting me his successor.

"The friendship and devotion which my father showed to France are marked by acts that are not to be forgotten. Among them, he facilitated the occupation of Mayotte by France. Besides, he saved the life of a Frenchman, prisoner of bandits, who, without my father's intervention, had been cruelly assassinated. The bandits surrendered the Frenchman on the payment of a sum of money by my father as a ransom. France recognized his numerous and brilliant services by naming him Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur and establishing him on the throne of his ancestors.

"My grandfather, Sultan of the Grand Comoro, was attacked by Moussa-Foumou, chief of one of the provinces. Moussa was victorious and Achmed died of chagrin. I was sent by my grandfather to Madagascar to recruit troops in order to continue the war against Moussa-Foumou; my bark was captured by the English, but when they learned who I was, they treated me with honour and accompanied me to Madagascar, where I learned of the death of my grandfather. I then made a pilgrimage to Mecca and to Medina, where I was robbed by the Bedouins. I went to Cairo, where I was received by the Khedive, who caused me to be lodged in one of his palaces.

"Whilst a guest of the Khedive I made the acquaintance of Olagnier Bey, who rendered me great service. It was in Cairo I was presented to the great engineer de Lesseps, to whom I showed a cannon susceptible of being taken apart. M. de Lesseps was so surprised and

astonished at my invention that he gave me a certificate (certificate which I gave to M. Humblot in order that he might take it to France to present it to the Minister of War). I remained several months in Cairo; the Khedive had the goodness to pay my return[1] voyage. I returned to Zanzibar in passing again by Mecca.

"At Zanzibar, Saïd Burgasch, to whom I applied for soldiers to fight Moussa-Foumou, advised me to make peace with him and to ask in marriage his eldest daughter Tumnishina. My father and the Sultan of Mohelie, whom I saw later, encouraged me in that object. I set out for the Grand Comoro, accompanied by Abdul Rahman, the Sultan of Mohelie. Arrived, we were borne in triumph by a numerous crowd to the palace of the Sultan, where a great fête was given in our honour.

"Moussa-Foumou returned to his palace at Issanda, and named me the special Sultan of Bimbao and gave me his daughter in marriage. Whilst I became very popular Moussa-Foumou was seized with a violent jealousy and was also much afraid. I declared war against Moussa and surrounded him in M'roni. . . . Moussa was conquered. Moussa asked aid of the English Consul at Zanzibar, who gave him arms and ammunition. Moussa renewed the war. . . . Then the British Consul came to M'roni in a steamer belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

[1] Prince Ali apparently had dissipated the large treasure of gold he took with him to Cairo. What he did with it will be one of the first questions the former commandant of the Egyptian expedition on the Juba will ask him if he should ever see Ali again.

" The British Consul submitted to me a treaty, asking me to sign, and that by so doing I would be happy and at peace, but that if I refused I should be dethroned. I refused all his propositions; then the Consul, furious, declared that I had no right to bear the title of Sultan nor to war with Moussa-Foumou. I commenced the war, which lasted several months. Moussa was recaptured. I made him a prisoner and accorded him all the honours due to his rank; Moussa died of disease and chagrin several days thereafter.

" Impressed by the menaces of the English Consul, and knowing that Germany also coveted the Comoros, I asked the protectorate of France, a nation for which I have always entertained the greatest esteem and for which I could not, nor would not, measure my sympathies.

" With the object of placing my kingdom under the protectorate of France, I made the demand of the commandant of Mayotte. . . . Three months after my demand there arrived in my country M. Humblot.

" (Signed) SAÏD ALI SAÏD OMAR,

" Sultan de la Grande Comoro."

The deposed Sultan left to his friend and advocate, Maître Olagnier, the task of submitting his grievances to the Chamber, which, in substance, were as follows :—

The Sultan complains that Citizen Humblot, shortly after his arrival in the Comoro, won his confidence, and that on his proposition to take charge of the Sultan's lands, he would ensure the

latter a profit of 10 per cent. Months passed, the Sultan received nothing. Later on Citizen Humblot was appointed Minister-Resident of France at the Comoros, and shortly after, the French Minister-Resident having substituted himself as owner of the Sultan's lands, he accused the Sultan of an attempt to cause his assassintion. Following the accusation, the Sultan was decoyed on board of a steamer, which steamed away for the Ile de la Réunion, where he has been imprisoned at St. Denis. This imprisonment, which meant dethronement and separation from his family, friends and property, left Citizen Humblot in undisturbed possession of the Sultan's property and interests, which Citizen Humblot proceeded to form into a commercial society. The scandal resulted in Humblot's displacement, but justice was not done to the Sultan, who was still retained in prison; first on an allowance of 1800 francs or $360 a year, then 5000 francs, and finally 10,000 francs.

But, under date of January, 1910, the French Republic re-established, by decree, in all his sovereign rights, the cruelly imprisoned and dethroned Prince Ali. This after seventeen years of banishment.

On February 7th, Saïd Ali, accompanied by Prince Saidina, his brother, and Prince Achmet, his son, was received at the Palais d'Elysée by President Fallières, who addressed him thus :—

" Sire, you have been unfortunate, but you

have learned to-day that France knows how to be just. The decree which dethroned you has been replaced by another that renders you justice. I am happy to congratulate you, and as evidence of appreciation of the fidelity you have always shown to France, I make you officer of the Legion of Honour." And M. Fallières, approaching the Sultan, attached to his tunic the cross of officer of the order of the Légion d'Honneur.

In reading Sir Henry Morton Stanley's *Autobiography*, which appeared in the autumn of 1909, a painful impression remains with the reader that his *meâ culpâ* lacks the essential essence of true repentance which is reparation. Don Quixote's dying declaration was true repentance, for he said: "I was mad, now I am sane. I was Don Quixote of La Mancha, and to-day I am, as I have said, Alonzo Quixano the Good. May my repentance and sincerity restore me to esteem!"

Stanley would set up the fiction that he is the persecuted, whilst the world, I ween, is convinced that he was the persecutor. I speak here of my own personal experience with him, experience confined entirely to geographical questions, and none other. I never met him nor had direct correspondence with him. It is probable that the persecution to which he refers since 1872 was due to the devilish attacks made upon him

as to his humble origin and the "stigma of pauperism," which appear to have rendered him mad, morose, and uncompanionable. He writes :—

"All the actions of my life, and, I may say, all my thoughts, since 1872, have been strongly coloured by the storm of abuse and the wholly unjustifiable reports circulated about me then. So numerous were my enemies that my friends became dumb, and I had to resort to silence as a protection against outrage."

In 1872 I had learned of Stanley vaguely through the Livingstone search expedition, to which I attached little importance because of the earmarks of a newspaper enterprise, and this impression was later accentuated when one day in Paris I received a visit from Dr. Livingstone's son. "Why," I asked, "did not your father, being lost in Africa, return with his discoverer?" "Absurd," replied young Livingstone; "my father was never lost; and, besides, his family knew he was in Ujiji and had no intention of returning!"

The disposition to discover men who were not lost appears to have been Stanley's *foible*, or *forte*, as the reader may decide. Emin Hakim unequivocally disclaimed that he desired to be rescued, he only wished to sell his Egyptian provinces, and Stanley's testimony on that point is irrefutable.

In 1874, when the Khedive Ismail communicated to me personally my instructions as to

my mission to Uganda, he referred to the "pseudo American" "who was preparing at London an expedition to Uganda as a newspaper enterprise." I was ordered to anticipate that expedition, and thus push the southern limits of Egypt to the Equator and the Nile sources. Stanley and Grant and their successors resented the results of my mission, and never ceased to manifest a spirit of hostility and positive malevolence; first against me, and finally against General Gordon, who dared to approve his chief-of-the-staff. When freed from the restraints of military service imposed upon me by Ismail Khedive, I denounced Stanley and promptly challenged many of his statements.

I am not of those who adverted to Stanley's obscure birth and the painful conditions of his childhood. If I had not been restrained in this by the feelings of a gentleman to whom recourse to such arms was repugnant, I would have been restrained by an incident of my boyhood. I, one day in a fisticuff with a school-fellow, angered at being worsted, flung at him the reproach "Charity scholar!" My adversary winced at the cruel shaft, but sensible fellow that he was, he turned his back and wrote me a long letter, the first lines of which cut me to the quick:—

> "Honour and shame from no condition rise;
> Act well your part, there all the honour lies."

Stanley has been made to say in his *Autobiography:* "It is the one good extracted from

my persecution, that, ever since, I have been able to restrain myself from undertaking to pass sentence on another whom I do not know. This change in me was not immediate. The vice of reckless, unthinking utterance was not to be suddenly extirpated. Often, as I opened my mouth in obedience to the impulse, I was arrested by the self-accusation: 'Ah! there you go; silly and uncharitable as ever!' It was slow unlearning, but the old habit was at last supplanted by the new."[1]

Did Stanley intend by the foregoing *meâ culpâ* to make the *amende honorable* for the reckless unthinking utterances made against me, whom he did not know? If so, I forgive.

Mr. John Morley (now Lord Morley), in his *Life of Gladstone*, reproduces a letter found with Mr. Gladstone's papers addressed to me by Mr. Gladstone, a reply to a letter written him under the following circumstances. Mr. R. J. Belford, the gifted editor of a political and literary monthly review, entitled *Belford's Magazine*, published in New York, requested me, in 1889, to write him for publication an article on General Gordon.

[1] Stanley, in his *Autobiography*, page 43, refers to the death of Sir Samuel Baker, who died January 1st, 1894, thus:—

"He was too great in mind and too dignified in character to belong to any geographical clique and join in the partisan warfare which raged in Savile Row, 1860-80."

Nevertheless Stanley himself, as the author has noted elsewhere, was engaged in intimate correspondence with Grant as late as 1888: Grant who was the head of the "clique" in the attempt to defame the author. (C.-L.)

Mr. Gladstone then, as now, was violently accused and abused by the Conservative press and his enemies as responsible for the catastrophe at Khartoum. If I could provoke a response from Mr. Gladstone I would comply with Mr. Belford's request. Mr. Gladstone, with full knowledge of the motive of my request and the use to be made of his reply, promptly responded, and the article written appeared in the magazine in the series of papers, "Celebrated Men of the Day."

I repeat here that neither I nor Sir Richard Burton knew of the reasons, the real reasons, of General Gordon's return to the Soudan in 1884. These reasons were artfully concealed by Sir Evelyn Baring until 1908, nearly a quarter of a century. If the reasons published to the world in 1884, by Sir Evelyn and others, were true, then Gordon had gone on a fool's errand; I thought so, and so did Sir Richard Burton, with whom I exchanged notes on the subject. The fault manifestly, in the light of Sir Evelyn's confession, lay with Sir Evelyn Baring. On Sir Evelyn's head, therefore, Sir Richard's article in *The Academy*, in 1885, and my article in *Belford's Magazine*, in 1900. Neither of us hesitated to rake Gordon for going upon a fool's errand, and in doing it we called a spade a spade. No one ever dreamed, ever dared charge Burton with being hostile to or jealous of Gordon.

In 1900 Mr. John Morley wrote Mr. Richard

Watson Gilder requesting him to communicate with me to obtain, if possible, a copy of my letter to Mr. Gladstone, which he wished to publish in his *Life of Gladstone*. Mr. Gilder's letter made the tour of the world, assuming me to be in Corea—and, finally, found me in Paris too late to furnish Mr. Morley a synopsis of my letter, of which I had kept no copy. Mr. Morley printed Mr. Gladstone's letter to me without comment.

Lord Cromer in his book *Modern Egypt*, Vol. I, page 430, affects to find in this letter a trespass upon Mr. Gladstone, when, for a fact, I had received several letters from the Grand Old Man thanking me as publicist and author for "many kind and friendly expressions in citing him on the Egyptian question." Lord Cromer, nevertheless, uses a favourite weapon to divert the attention of the reader, a diplomatic *coup de Jarnac*. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who is acquainted with Lord Cromer's *jeu*, calls it "stiletto-thrusts." Lord Cromer would maintain in doing this the fiction of a friendship for both Gordon and Gladstone. The effort is worthy of Macchiavelli. He writes :—

"His melancholy death (alluding to Gordon) also silences the voice of criticism. Five years after its occurrence a critic, who was disposed to be hostile to General Gordon (Colonel Chaillé-Long), wrote to Mr. Gladstone with a view to eliciting an expression of his opinion on General Gordon's conduct. Mr. Gladstone, with the

magnanimity of a true statesman and the delicate feelings of a gentleman, declined to enter into any discussion."

Perhaps I am unjust to Macchiavelli. *Ne vous en déplaise,* Prince! Permit me to replace the simile by Pecksniff.

Be that as it may, the word "conduct" on which the thrust is made is a pure invention, a word coined for the occasion. There was no such word in my letter, which implies a criticism I did not make. I cite from my article published in September, 1890, in order to show its animus.

"Mr. Gladstone has continued to bear in silence the onus of responsibility with which he has been freely charged for the catastrophe which befell Gordon at Khartoum. With a knowledge of Gordon's aspirations, I have from time to time maintained Mr. Gladstone's entire irresponsibility.

"When requested to write this sketch for *Belford's Magazine* I hesitated to do so, protesting that the subject was perhaps somewhat worn, and that the general public, scarcely recovered from the epidemic fever of hero-worship which once prevailed, were not yet ready to accept my *argumentum ad hominem,* though presented under the light of indisputable facts uncoloured by the prismatic spectrum as applied to the hero. Mr. Belford still persisting, I had the inspiration to write to Mr. Gladstone requesting him, in view of the time which had elapsed, to grant me

the favour of an expression of his views on the subject, and for his proper justification."

On January 23rd I received a letter from Mr. Gladstone declining to reopen the matter. Mr. Gladstone replied as follows:—

"HAWARDEN,

"*January 11th*, '90.

"Col. C. Chaillé-Long.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am much obliged by your kind letter and enclosure. I hope you will not think it belies this expression when I say that I feel myself precluded from supplying any material or entering upon any communications for the purpose of self-defence against the charges which are freely made, and, I believe, widely accepted against myself and against the Cabinet of 1880–85 in connection with General Gordon.

"It would be felt in this country by friends, I think, in many cases, as well as adversaries, that General Gordon's much-lamented death ought to secure him, as far as we are concerned, against the counter-argument which we should have to present on his language and proceedings.

"On this account you will, I hope, excuse me from entering into the matter. I do not doubt that a true and equitable judgment will eventually prevail.

"I remain, dear sir,

"Your very faithful servant,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

Heiwarden,
Jan 11. 90

Dear Sir

I am much obliged by your kind letter and inclosure

I hope you will not think it bliss this expression when I say that I feel myself precluded from supplying any material or entering upon any communications for the purpose of self-defence against the charges which are freely made

and I believe widely accepted against myself and against the Cabinet of 1880-5 in connection with General Gordon.

It would be left in this country by friends I think, in many cases, as well as adversaries, that General Gordon's much lamented death ought to secure him so far as we are concerned against the counter-arguments which we should have to present on his language and proceedings.

On this account you will I

hope I can see Fremont on my
visit to the matter. I do not
doubt that a true and equitable
judgment will eventually
prevail. I remain dear sir
Your very faithful servant
W. Gladstone
Col. C. Chaillé Long

To show that Lord Cromer is scarcely acceptable as a champion of Mr. Gladstone, to whom he attributes for the occasion only the "magnanimity of a true statesman," I cite from Lord Cromer's book a quotation from Gordon's journal in Khartoum, under date of November 8th, 1884: "If it is right," wrote General Gordon, "to send up an expedition now, why was it not right to send it up before?" and Lord Cromer seizes hold of this to let fly a Parthian arrow at Mr. Gladstone, thus: "The fact that General Gordon's pathetic question admits of no satisfactory answer must for ever stand as a blot on Mr. Gladstone's political escutcheon!"

I think the public will decide that Gordon's pathetic question was satisfactorily answered by Gordon himself when he wrote: "Not only did Baring not say 'Shift for yourself,' but he put a veto upon my going to the Equator." As for the failure to rescue Gordon, Mr. John Morley and General Butler have, in turn, satisfactorily answered, as has been clearly shown, that the failure was the fault of the military. Mr. Morley knew whereof he wrote, and so likewise did General Butler, who was a member of the expedition that was too late through no fault of his. Gordon, it is certain, with perfect knowledge and appreciation of the reasons of those who were holding him up, never connected Mr. Gladstone with the plan which he clearly saw meant his sacrifice.

No one feels this more acutely than Lord Cromer himself, whose conscience forces him, on page 432, Vol. I, of *Modern Egypt*, to write :—

" General Gordon was no friend to the particular class to which I belong. I must say he wrote : ' I hate our diplomatists. I think, with few exceptions, they are arrant humbugs, and I expect they know it.' "

Lord Cromer is desirous of having others bear what is really meant for him, so he adds : " Acting on this general principle, General Gordon, in his *Journal*, which, when it was first published, was probably read by almost every educated man in England, held up Mr. Egerton, myself, and others to odium and ridicule. To all this, acting on Mr. Gladstone's principle, I shall not attempt to reply, more especially as I feel sure that had he lived no one would have regretted what he wrote more than General Gordon himself."

Lord Cromer's unfriendliness towards General Gordon has been shown in many ways, but the effort to discredit him through such a wretched agent as Emin has been shown to be, is abominable. I cite Lord Cromer on page 44, Vol. II, *Modern Egypt* :—

" ' Since 1877,' Emin wrote, ' no accounts have been sent in or kept of this administration. Though the Governor received moneys for the payment of wages, no one has been paid a piastre for years ; probably, however, the Governors

have bought goods with the funds belonging to the Government and sold them at three times the amount. Slaves figure in these accounts as oxen and asses, etc. The making of false seals and fabricating receipts by their use complete the picture of what has been going on here, and, with it, all the place is full of prayer-places and *fiki*-priests. In 1886 Emin Pacha received a letter from Nubar Pacha, in which he was informed that the Egyptian Government had decided to abandon the Soudan; that they were unable to afford him any assistance, and that he was authorized to take any steps he might consider advisable to leave the country.' "

The above is manifestly a secret report of the faithless Emin to Nubar, his protector, who, doubtless, thereupon caused Emin to be promoted to the pashalik. The use of such testimony is discreditable. Lord Cromer refers the rest of Emin's story to Stanley in *Darkest Africa*, who, he says, is better informed on the subject than himself. The reference is unfortunate, for Stanley paints Emin as an abject creature, whose testimony by "induction" is entirely unworthy and impeachable.

Failing to receive satisfaction for the attempt to appropriate my part in the solution of the Nile-source problem, I appealed to the justice of H.B. Majesty King Edward VII, as patron of the Royal Geographical Society, with the result that my communication and documents

in corroboration were referred by His Majesty to Lord Lansdowne of the British Foreign Office.

The American Geographical Society, through its sympathetic president, Mr. Archer Huntington, and our beloved librarian, the late Mr. George C. Hurlbut, and others, submitted my case to the council, with the result that justice was done when the council, on December 6th, 1909, voted me the Daly Gold Medal.

On February 15th, 1910, in New York, at a meeting of the Society, President Huntington, in presenting the medal, said that the special service to geography which the Society desired to commemorate was summed up in the inscription on the medal, which reads as follows :—

" Awarded in MCMIX to Charles Chaillé-Long in recognition of valuable additions to geographical knowledge made by him in Africa. In 1874 he explored the unknown Nile north of Urondogani, discovered Lake Ibrahim, and supplied the final evidence needed to prove that the river issuing from Victoria is the Nile."

On receiving the medal I said, in part : " Mr. President, I am deeply touched by your flattering allusions to my share in the final solution of the Nile source problem. As the only American to attach his name to the discovery of the Nile source, it was the idea of *pro patria* America which inspired and stirred me to the achievement for which you have awarded me this great

honour. I accept this medal with profoundest thanks and appreciation of the honour it confers. The pleasure I experience is saddened by the absence of one who was an affectionate and devoted friend and advocate, our lamented librarian, the late George C. Hurlbut.

"Mr. President, on this occasion it is fitting to make honourable mention of the American Military Mission in Egypt, of which I was member, and which added prestige and honour to the American name in Egypt and Africa.

"This mission has had no historian and its achievements have been methodically ignored by the writers of modern history of Egypt and Africa. It is a gap which will be filled.

"The mission was semi-official, inspired by General Sherman when General-in-Chief of the United States Army. It was composed of Federal and Confederate officers; ten of the former being officers actually in the United States Army detached on a year's leave of absence. Its purpose was partly scientific, and it was employed by the progressive Ismail in scientific objects, among which was the final discovery of the Nile source.

"It was an American who designated Tel-el-Kebir as a defence against a threatened Turkish invasion; an American who made the preliminary hydrographic studies in 1870, which became the inspiration of the dam at Assouan a generation later; an American who, charged

with the coast defences of Egypt, constructed a counterpoise disappearing battery, which has since been adopted by the United States Government; an American who made a treaty with Uganda, adding that country to Egypt, and, navigating the unknown Victoria Nile, discovered Lake Ibrahim, thus completing the work of Speke and Baker; an American who, having pushed the limits of Gordon's government south to the Equator, extended them toward the Atlantic, and east to the Indian Ocean to Juba, Kismayu, and Mombasa (the latter port, Mombasa, has since served as a point of penetration of the railroad from Mombasa to Uganda); an American who discovered the Wady Raiyan, for which he holds the control, a vast reservoir, which, if utilized, would double the capacity of the Nile Beni-Zaef; Americans, finally, of the United States Navy and marine corps saved hundreds of lives, including those of the Khedive and family, and saved the city of Alexandria, the great seaport of north-eastern Africa, from entire destruction.

"Mr. President, I would add a tribute to my chief, the late General Charles Gordon, with whom I had the honour to serve as chief-of-staff, and who promptly recognized my share in the solution of geographical problems.

"Gordon was an officer of the Royal Engineers of the British Army. Had Gordon not been an Englishman, he would have been an American.

He has been misunderstood and misrepresented by his own countrymen. I had myself misunderstood some of his methods, which seemed to me at the time illogical, but I gave to him during my service of three years absolute devotion to the attainment of his object. I have never subscribed to the attribution to him of what Burton called excessive 'religiosity.' I believed, on the contrary, that he was actuated rather by all the legitimate aspirations of a soldier; in a word, Gordon was more soldier than saint.

"Mr. President, I renew my thanks for and appreciation of the great honour this Society has conferred upon me, and to cite a line from Horace, '*Alboque dies notanda lapillo*' ('This day is to be marked by me with a white stone')."

COLONEL CHAILLÉ-LONG
ON HIS RETURN FROM THE EXPEDITION TO THE
GRAND LAKES

From a unique photograph taken by Colonel Gordon, C.B., October 18, 1874

APPENDIX I

"WHAT IT COSTS TO SOLVE THE NILE SOURCE PROBLEM"

Facts and Documents bearing on the Author's Exploration of the Upper Nile and Discovery of Lake Ibrahim

WHEN I returned to Gondokoro, October 18th, 1874, from the Nile sources, I was greeted joyfully by General Gordon, who had already received my reports. Startled at my changed appearance, he exclaimed, as he held me with both hands: "Come, let me photograph you! The world should know what it costs to solve the Nile Source problem." The photograph, then taken and developed by Gordon, is reproduced here to lend emphasis to his exclamation.

In this connection I have had occasion to recall many times what Gordon said in 1874, and what Sir Richard Burton wrote me in his letter of November 4th, 1888, when I was in Corea.

"You will have no chance of public recognition for your great part of the work in the solution of the Nile Source problem. You have Grant against you, who hates his idol to be touched by a hand profane. The R.G. Society will be interested in anything you do about Corea, but they will not have Africa stirred up."

It has cost me much physical pain, my part in the Nile Source problem, but the mental pain has, perhaps,

been greater—to maintain the part that is mine—so that what with the recollection of Gordon's exclamation and Burton's friendly warning, I have thought it both appropriate and interesting to collect, under the head of "What it cost to solve the Nile Source Problem," the notes that follow, which have led to reparation and restitution of honours withheld for more than a generation.

The struggle to maintain Lake Ibrahim, discovered by me in 1874, on the map of Africa began in 1879, by my appeal to Sir Rutherford Alcock, president of the R.G.S. It was referred to General Gordon, who replied by the letter inserted in the first pages of this book. Subsequently I felt obliged to complain to Sir Rutherford that cartographers, under the *aegis* of the R.G.S., were changing the name of my lake, with the result that Sir Rutherford laid my letter before the Council, which recognized the priority of my discovery and naming of Lake Ibrahim in the following letter :—

"1 Savile Row,

"Burlington Gardens, W.,

"*July* 1, 1881.

"Dear Sir,

"I am requested by Sir Rutherford Alcock to inform you that he laid your letter to him, of the 19th May, before the Council of the Society and that they have directed the attention of Mr. Ravenstein (who is engaged in compiling for the Society a large map of Equatorial Africa) to the matter, with a view to due credit being given to you for priority of discovery and naming of Lake Ibrahim, on the map alluded to.

"The Council at the same time disclaimed any responsibility for maps of Africa published by the firm

of W. and A. K. Johnston, for whom the late Mr. Keith Johnston must have drawn the map of which you complain.[1]

" Your obed. Servt.,
" H. W. BATES,
" Assist.-Secretary.

" Colonel C. Chaillé-Long."

Nevertheless, Lake Ibrahim continued to appear and disappear from the map, to my manifest disadvantage and depreciation, under the *soi-disant* native names of Kodjae, Nita N'Zigué, Campechu, Kioga, Kwania, and Choga. I renewed my protestation to succeeding presidents of the R.G.S., that such designations of Lake Ibrahim were unworthy attempts to take from me all public recognition of my part in the solution of the Nile Source problem. Finally, wearied with these vain protestations, I appealed to His Majesty King Edward VII, as the patron of the Royal Geographical Society, who referred my complaint to the British Foreign

[1] *The Geographical Journal*, London, for April, 1899, p. 410, map p. 464, by the late Captain R. T. Kirkpatrick, D.S.O., contains the following reference to Lake Ibrahim, which the traveller names Choga on the authority of *Kakunguru*, his servant. Kirkpatrick cuts out a part of Lake Ibrahim, which he presents as Lake *Kwania*. He says :—

" The name of the lake should be Choga, not Kioga ; the Wakedi, Waganda, and Wasoga all call it Choga. The names in Usoga I obtained through a servant of mine who came from that country. As to the part shown in dotted lines (on map) Kakunguru, who is a very intelligent man, informed me that the Niriagite channel goes six hours north from the neighbourhood of Msara and joins Lake Kwania ; this information came from the Wakedi, who also said the Niriagite was marshy in parts. Lake Kwania Kakunguru had himself seen. He said it was four to six hours' march from the north of Lake Choga, about two miles wide, and joined the Nile near M'ruli to the south of Marusi or Mahorsi Hills." Captain Kirkpatrick would manifestly claim the discovery of " Lake Kwania," which is clearly a part of Lake Ibrahim.

Office, which referred it to the R.G.S., with the result that partial justice was done: "Lake Ibrahim should be added in brackets to the native name"!

This was not a solution; manifestly Lake Ibrahim was destined to be destroyed—obliterated. Certain authors, encouraged by these attacks upon my rights, commenced to calumniate and misrepresent my rôle in Africa. I placed them in the hands of my legal counsellor.

Finally, I submitted my case to the President of the American Geographical Society, with documents in corroboration, and the council of that Society, after careful deliberation, awarded me for my part in the solution of the Nile Source problem the Daly gold medal.

My claim is clearly and fully stated in the following paper which I prepared for the American Geographical Society. It also contains some further details of my exploration of the hitherto unknown reach of the Nile and my discovery of Lake Ibrahim.

The following appeared in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society, of New York, for June, 1904:—

CHAILLÉ-LONG'S WORK ON THE NILE.

(WITH A MAP.[1])

"*To the Editor of the* BULLETIN,
American Geographical Society.

"BALTIMORE, *May* 18, 1904.

"General Charles George Gordon, then Lieut.-Col. of R.E. of the British Army, was appointed by Ismaïl Pasha Khedive, in 1874, Governor-General of the Egyptian Equatorial Provinces of the Soudan. An American officer, since 1869 Lt.-Col. of the Egyptian staff (Chief

[1] "Chaillé-Long discovered Lake Ibrahim in August, 1874. The date 1875 in Ravenstein's map is an error."

of Sections, Military Correspondence, Law, and Inspection), the writer, was designated by the Khedive to accompany Gordon as chief of staff and commander of the Soudanieh troops. He was instructed by the Khedive to make a treaty with Mtésa, King of Uganda. This treaty, promptly executed at the capital of Uganda, July 19, 1874,[1] was communicated to the Egyptian Government, which made it the basis of a diplomatic note[2] to the Powers formally announcing the annexation of the entire Nile basin to Egypt.

"The diplomatic mission accomplished, the writer determined to demonstrate the still unknown problem of the Nile sources. The blank in the Nile from Urondogani[3] on the Victoria Nile to M'ruli, Foweira, and Lake Albert, had given rise to much discussion among geographers, among whom Capt. Burton, Dr. Beke, and others.

"Having executed a reconnaissance upon the Lake Victoria N'yanza on 14th, 15th, and 16th of July, the writer returned to the capital, where, the treaty between the Khedive and King being signed on the 19th, he bade the King adieu, and, escorted by 500 warriors, marched on the 20th towards the Nile. He quitted Urondogani on the Victoria Nile (whence Speke had been driven[4]

[1] "*Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People*, London, 1876, pp. 316–18."

[2] "*Publications of the General Staff*, Cairo, 1877; General Stone, Itinerary Lieutenant-Colonel Long, p. 62."

[3] "In G. B. Hill's book *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, London, 1881, is a quotation from Gordon: 'It was contended that the Nile did not flow out of Lake Victoria and thence through Lake Albert,' etc. (*note*, p. 177)."

[4] "Captain Speke, in his book, avows that he was driven from the Nile at Urondogani by the hostile Ugogos, and proceeded thence by the land route to M'ruli and Karuma Falls.

"Sir Samuel Baker says, in *The Albert Nyanza*, Vol. I, p. 97, London, 1867:—

"'On meeting [Speke and Grant at Gondokoro] I had con-

away in July, 1862) on the 5th of August in bark boats, his party consisting of himself, two soldiers, and five servants. The escort of Uganda warriors, one servant, and horse were sent forward by the land route. The exploring party in boats was armed with two Snider rifles and one elephant gun, with ample ammunition, which had been carefully preserved for this emergency. Assailed by storms that set in the afternoon of each day and raged with fury all night, it was impossible to use instruments or measure distance. The banks of the river were lined with papyrus, that rendered landing difficult; and what with exposure to the pitiless cold rain at night, the hot sun of the day was almost insupportable. With insufficient food, consisting of bananas

sidered my expedition as terminated by having met them, and by their having accomplished the discovery of the Nile source, but upon my congratulating them . . . Speke and Grant, with characteristic candour and generosity, gave me a map of their route, showing that they had been unable to complete the actual exploration of the Nile, and that a most important portion still remained to be determined.'

"Keith Johnston: *Africa*, London, 1878, p. 322, says:—

"'After the discovery in July, 1862, of the Ripon Falls, where the river overflows from the N'Yanza by a descent of 12 feet between protruding rocks of gneiss, Captain Speke followed the *Somerset*, as he then named it, downward in its northerly course for 35 miles to *Urondogani*, but there was obliged to leave it and turn *north-westward* to the country of Unyoro; he did not see the river again till Mrooli, the capital of Unyoro, had been passed, so that an extent of about sixty miles remained unexplored.

"'It was not until 1874, when Colonel Long made a perilous canoe voyage down the river from Urondogani to M'rooli, that the gap which had been left in the river's course was filled up, and all possible doubt as to its being the true head stream of the Nile cleared away. . . .

"'North and west of the Victoria N'Yanza . . . lies the land of Uganda, where King M'Tésa holds court not far from the lake. Between Uganda and the northern portion of the Albert Lake is the country of Unyoro. On both of these states fresh light has been thrown by the Egyptian expedition under Colonel Long in 1874, and by Colonel Gordon's more recent explorations.'"

and a few beans, with no medicine to combat the fevers that attacked them, the misery suffered may be imagined but not described.

"In his volume[1] *Central Africa*, the author says:—

"'At midday (on the 11th) we passed the mountain (Gebel M'Tingi) seen in the distance the day before, and shortly after, as if by magic, we entered a sheet of water in which the river lost itself; and in vain I looked for the opposite shore, to be seen only from the river we had just left. Stretching away to the eastward, a scarcely visible line seemed to indicate land, certainly twenty miles away. Was this the basin from which, as M'Tésa told me, "the river went eastward"? It certainly seemed only too true; and for the moment a thrill of horror ran through my veins; for if it should be true, we were lost!

"'As we advanced into the lake (since called "Ibrahim") I descried in the distance what seemed to be land . . . an immense sea of lilies, whose heads floated upon the surface like a great hat, and which grew up from an incredible depth.'

"In his volume[2] *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, the author says:—

"'Lake Ibrahim, indeed, is a veritable nursery of *Nymphæa lotus*, in the midst of which live the famous lotophagi, whose country, according to ancient authors, was situated on the northern coast of Africa, not far from the Gulf of Syrtes, or Gabes.

"'On the floating islands formed of the detritus of papyrus the inhabitants of the lake have constructed huts, whence, on our approach, they fled in their rude *pirogues*. The huts, made of the stalk of papyrus and bamboo, were filled with a quantity of rotten fish, which

1 "*Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People*, Chaillé-Long, pp. 163–73."

2 "*L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, pp. 32–4."

rendered the air pestiferous. But, curious to relate, we saw the natives gathering and eating the bulbs of the lotus, of which they appeared fond.

" ' Following the example of the savages, and forced by want, we also ate the fruit, and soon felt the effect in the torpor which seized us, to the point of obliging us to attach our boats to the papyrus and give ourselves up to the effect of the narcotic with which the fruit is impregnated.

* * * * * *

" ' Before us in the distance the lake seemed entirely shut in by land and a mountain on our right (Djebel Mahorsi). If there should be no outlet, and the river here lost itself, there was nothing left me but to take to the shore and find my way to M'rooli—certainly not far distant. . . . We paddled away, upheld by nervous energy, reaching the distant land about midday, there to find that the lake suddenly narrowed to about 700 yards. It was the river! With what joy we pulled away until we had left the lake that had well-nigh proved fatal to us! '

"The travellers arrived during the night opposite M'ruli, and, effecting a landing, drew their leaking boats after them. A tent was quickly raised, and, after a summary repast on bananas, the weary navigators sought the welcome shelter, overcome by exhaustion and happy in the consciousness of having demonstrated finally and conclusively the problem of the Nile Source and of having discovered another great watershed in Lake Ibrahim.[1]

[1] In September, 1876, General Gordon addressed the following despatch to the Egyptian Government: "Sig. Piaggia corroborates the discovery of Lake Ibrahim by Chaillé-Long. The lake is 50 miles wide, a great river runs out in north and east which may be the Assua or the Saubat." The rainstorms and the vegetation appear to have prevented even until the present an accurate map of Lake Ibrahim.

"The following morning, August 17th, having caulked their boats as best they might, the travellers resumed their journey, and, arriving opposite a certain point as pre-arranged, fired a gun as a signal to the escort supposed to be awaiting their coming. The shot in response came not. In place thereof there was heard the lugubrious sound of the war drum, and soon the country swarmed with the hostile Unyoro. A hundred pirogues filled with the naked warriors shot out from the cover of the papyrus jungle and sought to surround the travellers.

"Protected by sheet-iron travelling cases, which served as ramparts, the navigators fought the enemy with desperation for several hours, and finally escaped. The General Orders published to the Army subsequently will serve to show the appreciation of the Government at Cairo :—[1]

"'BUREAU WAR DEPT.,

CAIRO, *Nov.* 16, 1874.

"'GENERAL ORDERS No. 18.

"'Lt.-Col. Chaillé-Long of the General Staff, on expedition near Lake Albert, was attacked by 400 armed men, enemies of the Khedive, with two soldiers resisted reiterated attacks of that troop and put them to flight. Killing 82 men.

"'For this brilliant *fait d'armes* and for having successfully accomplished, notwithstanding great difficulties, *the mission confided to him to Uganda*, His Highness the Khédive has been pleased to name Lt.-Col. Chaillé-Long a colonel in the staff corps.

"'By order of His Highness the Prince, Minister of War.

"'THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF, STONE.'

[1] *Bulletin of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie*, No. 2, Fev. et Juin, p. 223 ; *L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, p. 271.

"When the writer was sent to Cairo in May, 1875, to command the land forces in the expedition to the Juba by Gordon's order a *séance extraordinaire* of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire was convoked for June 11th, by the Khedive. His Highness Prince Hussein, Minister of War, presided. Dr. Schweinfurth, the distinguished African traveller, president of the Society, in introducing the writer, said :—

"'The voyage of Colonel Long Bey has a marked place in the front rank of the grand and glorious voyages to Central Africa. The proofs of courage, constancy, and temerity manifested by him are unique in the history of discovery.'[1]

"The Marquis de Compiègne, Secretary-General, thus sums up the results of Chaillé-Long's expeditions :—

"'The expedition of Colonel Long Bey was undertaken under exceptionally difficult conditions, without provisions and with but two followers . . . ; nevertheless the following results were obtained :—

"'The Lake Victoria, discovered by Speke, was visited for the first time in the north, and for the first time a white man navigated its clear waters (Speke saw the lake in the distance, but never visited it).

"'Returning from the Victoria Nyanza, Colonel Chaillé-Long arrived at Urondogani on the Somerset Nile, whence Captain Speke had been driven away by the Ugos and forced to abandon the navigation of the river, which, according to the natives and many geographers, flowed to the eastward. Colonel Long, braving the threats of the natives, navigated during thirteen days in two *pirogues* that part of the Nile till then unknown from Urondogani to Karuma Falls, whence the river is known to flow into Lake Albert. He discovered about 1° 30′ (bet. L. 0° 52′ 27″ and

[1] *Bulletin of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie*, No. 2, Fev. et Juin, 1876, p. 223.

L. 1° 38′) an important lake, which will bear hereafter the name of Ibrahim, which Long (Ismail Khedive) has given it. Moreover, this voyage has created between the Government of his Highness the Khedive and King M'Tésa, between Egypt and the country of the Equator (a part of which is its property), commercial and political relations upon the importance of which it is not necessary to dwell.

" ' Colonel Long Bey has also accomplished a journey to the Makraka-Niam-Niam, opening thus across a hostile country a direct road from the Bahr-el-Abiad (at Lado) to the Niam-Niam country, and facilitating in this way the establishment of the Egyptian authority in that region, whose resources in ivory and minerals are immense.

" ' Finally, Colonel Long Bey has rendered great services to ethnography in bringing to Egypt men belonging to different types of the Niam-Niam races and a specimen of the Akka,[1] or Tiki (the Obongos of Du Chaillu, the existence of whom was for a long time doubted).'

" The Royal Geographical Society of London in 1879, replying to the writer's protest against the substitution on a published map of Africa of *Cojae* for *Ibrahim*, referred the writer to General Gordon as responsible. The writer thereupon addressed a note to his former chief on the subject, and Gordon replied as follows :—

" ' MASSOWAH, *Dec.* 9, 1879.

" ' DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,—I received your letter Oct. to-day on my arrival from Abyss[a]. You are very much mistaken if you think I wished to detract from the just

[1] Miani, the Italian, and Chaillé-Long, the American, are the only travellers of modern times who succeeded in bringing from Africa to Egypt and Europe specimens of the Akka, Denga, or Ticki-Ticki race of pygmies (*L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues*, pp. 73–9 ; *Les Pygmées*, Quatrefages, pp. 255–6).

merit due to you for your passage from Urondogani to M'ruli by calling the lake after the name given by the natives. Gessi in his voyage around Lake Albert had Mt. Gordon, Mt. Nubar, and a host of names, all of which I objected to as materially useless. However, I have written the enclosed to Editor *N.Y.H.* and I think that it should satisfy you and that you can require no more.

" ' I gave my sketch sheets to R.G.S. rough as they were, and on them were written the native names. The map was put together when I was in the Soudan, and had I known that you would have wished the name given the lake to be inserted, it would have been so: thus Lake Cojae, alias Lake Ibrahim (Long).

" ' Believe me, yours very truly,

" ' C. G. GORDON.'

" Gordon's letter, published in the *New York Herald*, January 23rd, 1880, is as follows :—

" ' MASSAWA, *Dec.* 9, 1879.

" ' *To the Editor of the Herald.*

" ' Those who may be interested in geographical discoveries will remember that in 1874 Col. Chaillé-Long of the Egyptian staff passed down the Victoria Nile from Nyamyongo where Speke was stopped to M'rooli, thus at the risk of his life settling the question before unsolved of the identity of the river above Urondogani with that below M'rooli.

" ' He also discovered a lake midway between those places which he called Lake Ibrahim. Passing that way afterward I ascertained that the native name of the lake was Cojae and wrote this name on the map. . . . In writing thus I in no way wished to take from Col.

Chaillé-Long the merit due to him for his discovery of this lake or for his perilous journey.

"'Those who care to study the successive steps which built up the map of the course of the Nile will know that to Speke is due the discovery of one portion, to Baker that of another, and to Col. Chaillé-Long that of another portion and of the lake alluded to.

"'Believe me, yours very truly,

"'C. G. GORDON.'

"Notwithstanding the foregoing letters of my former chief, whose authority is incontestable, the writer again remarked, in May, 1881, that the error against which he protested was repeated; he wrote to Sir Rutherford Alcock, President of the Royal Geographical Society, who replied as follows:—

"'SAVILE ROW, LONDON, *July* 1, 1881.

"'COL. CHAILLÉ-LONG.

"'DEAR SIR,—I am requested by Sir Rutherford Alcock to inform you that he laid your letter to him of 19th May before the Council of the Society and that they have directed the attention of Mr. Ravenstein (who is engaged in compiling for the Society a large map of Equatorial Africa) to the matter with a view to due credit being given to you for priority of discovery and naming of Lake Ibrahim on the map alluded to.

"'The Council at the same time disclaimed any responsibility for maps of Africa published by the firm of W. and A. K. Johnston, for whom the late Mr. Keith Johnston must have drawn the map of which you complain.

"'Your Obdt. Servt.,

"'H. W. BATES, Asst.-Secretary.'

"In conclusion, the question of the maintenance of the name of Lake Ibrahim, and the correction of certain errors on sheets 28, 36, and 37 of the map of Africa, were submitted to General Bassot, Director of the Geographical Service of the French Army. General Bassot's reply as to Lake Ibrahim is categoric :—

"'There is for a fact identity between Lake Ibrahim and the lake traced by Macdonald[1] in 1897 and named by him *Choga*. Besides, all the lakes of this region have retained the European names with which their discoverers have baptized them (Victoria, Albert, Rudolph, etc.). There is not, therefore, any reason not to maintain that of *Lake Ibrahim*, and this name will be again adopted for subsequent editions of sheet No. 36 of the map of Africa.'

"CH. CHAILLÉ-LONG."

The preceding publications having failed to provoke a reply, I resolved to appeal again to His Majesty King Edward VII in his capacity as patron of the R.G.S., and I accordingly addressed His Majesty the following letter with enclosures :—

"CHEVY CHASE, MD.,
"*October* 6, 1907.

"His Majesty Edward VII,
"King of England,
"Patron of the Royal Geographical Society.

"MAJESTY,

"With reference to the communication I had the honour to address to your Majesty, dated June 27, 1904, I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter to the President of the R.G.S., Sir George Taubman-

[1] The Khedive Ismail named the lake *Ibrahim*—a fact well known to General Gordon.

Goldie, on the subject of which I invoke your Majesty's authority to rectify the injustice of which I complain.

"The Foreign Office, I should add, under date of July 22, 1904, advised me that my former communication had been referred to that Department by your Majesty. I find, nevertheless, your Majesty, that a recent map of Africa changes the name of Lake Ibrahim arbitrarily, and for the manifest purpose of appropriating my discovery for the benefit of those I have already reported to your Majesty.

"I am, with great respect,

"Your Majesty's obedient servant,

"CHARLES CHAILLÉ-LONG,

"Formerly Colonel, Egyptian Army,

"Chief-of-Staff to General Gordon,

"Governor-General of the Egyptian Equatorial Provinces."

"ENCLOSURES: Memorandum,

"Copy letter to Hon. Sir Taubman-Goldie.

"MEMORANDUM.

"By reference to sheet 8 of the E. G. Ravenstein's map (reproduced), map of the East Equatorial Africa, published under authority of the R.G.S. London, E. Stanford, 1882, reduction of which appears in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society, 1904, the date of the discovery of *Gita N. Zigé*, or Lake Ibrahim, has been changed from 1874 to 1875. This change is sufficient to make the discovery accord with certain false statements made by Henry M. Stanley. Lake Ibrahim was discovered August 11th, 1874.

"In connection with the foregoing, Stanley, it should be remarked, endeavoured to create the impression that he had preceded Chaillé-Long in the Nile basin.

"In a book entitled *The Story of Emin's Rescue as told*

in Stanley's Letters, edited by Mr. J. Scott Keltie, librarian of the R.G. Society, there is a letter to Col. Grant, dated Balundu, Itiri, Sept. 8, 1888. In the letter Stanley says :—

" 'Apropos of the error of Baker, Emin Pacha related to me a curious scene of which I believe he was a witness, between Gordon and one of his staff officers who had been despatched on a mission to Uganda, and who, on returning, reported that he had discovered a large lake between Lake Albert and Lake Victoria, called "Gita Nzigé," or Lake Ibrahim, and that he had also a new survey of Lake Victoria.'

"Stanley follows this with a fantastic conversation between Gordon and his chief-of-staff and an imaginary cartographer.

"Needless to add, the entire statement is a very stupid invention of the reporter and without a scintilla of truth. Gordon's chief-of-staff never saw Emin Pacha, nor ever had any communication with him, being absent on the East Coast of Africa (many months before Emin's arrival in the Soudan), in command of the land forces of Gordon's expedition to the Juba (or Mombasa), an expedition which Gordon has specially recommended should be confided to his chief-of-staff for the very flattering reasons contained in his letter to the Khedive Ismail.

"Gordon, besides, has sufficiently manifested his appreciation of the value of the discovery of Lake Ibrahim in his official reports to the Egyptian Government and the letter published in the *New York Herald*, January, 1880. For a fact, and in justice to Gordon, who, living, would have considered himself quite as much calumniated as his chief-of-staff, it should be stated, that shortly after Emin's arrival in the Soudan, Emin changed his faith from Israel to Islam, after which

Gordon, hating an apostate, ceased to tolerate either his correspondence or his presence, and this, indeed, explains why, besieged at Khartoum, 1884–85, he disdained to mention him.

"Stanley not only possessed, as charged, the 'mental habit of exaggeration,' he was exceedingly jealous. He conceived a veritable hatred for Gordon's chief-of-staff, because he learned that Ismail Khedive had designated him (then Lt.-Col. of the General Staff of the Egyptian Army) to anticipate the expedition then forming in London, which was to be led by Stanley.

"Stanley never forgave Gordon's chief-of-staff that he arrived in Uganda and at the Lake Victoria N'yanza (June 20th, 1874) nine months before him (April 15th, 1875); never forgave the navigation of the unknown Nile, the discovery of Lake Ibrahim (which was the final solution of the Nile Source problem), and never forgave the Treaty of Uganda executed with King M'tesa (July 9th, 1874), by which Uganda was annexed to Egypt. *Vide* notes in *Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People*, pp. 316–28.

"The official note communicated by the Egyptian Government to the Powers (prior to Stanley's arrival in Uganda) contains the following:—

"'Ainsi est accomplie l'annexion à l'Egypte de tous les territoires sis autour des grands lacs Victoria et Albert qui avec leurs affluents et le fleuve Somerset (Victoria) ouvrent à la navigation un vaste champ d'explorations que prépare en ce moment Gordon Pacha.

"'Nous sommes heureux d'avoir à annoncer le résultat de cette expédition qui a réussi grace à l'initiative intelligente à l'energie et au dévouement de ceux qui l'ont enterprise sous le direction de Gordon Pacha,

dans la généreuse pensée de concourir au but que s'est proposé le Khédive, celui de féconder ces contrées par la civilisation, par l'agriculture et par le commerce,' etc.

"Gordon's chief-of-staff is incontestably designated in these official declarations based upon General Gordon's flattering reports to the Government of his (chief-of-staff's) 'intelligent initiative and devotion,' etc.

"A knowledge of the foregoing facts doubtless inspired the editor of *In Darkest Africa* to suppress all mention of Stanley's letter to Grant and the malicious invention recited as libellous matter.

"These malicious inventions and the calumniations, of which protestation has heretofore been made, are only worthy of notice because made under cover of and in the name of the Royal Geographical Society. Gordon's chief-of-staff asks that the guilty be punished and justice be accorded him."

[*Enclosed with communication to King Edward VII, October 6th*, 1907.]

This reopening of the question led to some result. On the same day, October 6th, 1907, I wrote to the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir George Taubman-Goldie, a letter, which closed with these words :—

"I have the hope that you, Mr. President, after investigation of the case which is given in detail in the *Bulletins* of the American Geographical Society for January and June, 1904, will do me justice by restoring the name of Lake Ibrahim which connects me with its discovery and thus render further protestation unnecessary."

To this letter the following reply was received :—

" Royal Geographical Society,
" 1 Savile Row,
" Burlington Gardens,
" London, W.,
" *Nov.* 13, 1907.

" Colonel Chaillé-Long,
" Chevy Chase, Md.

" Dear Sir,

" In accordance with the request in your letter of the 6th ultimo, I have brought its subject matter before the first meeting of the Council of the Society after our recess. After due consideration, standing instructions have been issued to the Mapping Department that in all such maps, issued by the authority of the Society, as are on a sufficiently large scale to make it practicable, the name ' Lake Ibrahim ' shall be added, in brackets, to the native name, as was done in the Society's map prepared by Mr. Ravenstein.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,
" Your obedient servant,
" George Taubman-Goldie,
" *President R.G.S.*"

My protests against what I considered unfair allusions to my work in the writings of Sir Harry Johnston elicited from him a very friendly letter of explanation (September 17th, 1908), in which he said :—

" There seems, however, to be one phrase to which he specially objects, and that is the one in which I refer to his having been sent by Gordon to ' spy out the land.' Obviously the phrase is intended to be understood in the Scriptural sense. Modern thought does not attribute anything blameworthy to Joshua or to the two ' spies ' who were sent to prospect the Holy Land.

In like manner, I never intended by this phrase to convey anything derogatory to the honour of an officer and a gentleman in applying it to the delegated action of Col. Chaillé-Long. As a matter of cold political criticism, I took exception to the policy of Col. Gordon in seeking to extend Egyptian rule over Uganda and over the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions when he knew (presumably) that such policy was, for various reasons, distasteful to the British Government, and likely to cause friction in various ways. Perhaps, in forming these opinions (in the early eighties), I was influenced by Sir John Kirk, of Zanzibar, whom, in many respects, I regard as my ' master ' in African politics. I have not the least wish to be even unintentionally unfair to Col. Chaillé-Long, or any other of the gallant American, British, or German officers of the former Sudan Government; and, perhaps, if an opportunity offers in a second edition of this work I may endeavour to make my meaning clearer.

" On p. 320 of the *Nile Quest* you will find Col. Chaillé-Long's name inserted in the ' Roll of Honour ' among the Nile discoverers.

" As regards the disuse of the name of ' Lake Ibrahim,' Col. Chaillé-Long must blame, not *me*, but the numerous cartographers—I don't know their names—who, long before I visited these lands, changed the name of this lake to the Uganda appellation of Kioga or Choga. *I* only adopted the name I found in use. Col. Chaillé-Long is already aware that the Royal Geographical Society—of which I was a Councillor and am a Vice-President—has, on his representations, *revived* his name of Lake Ibrahim. I am aware that the deceased Sir Henry Stanley did not always write very kindly of Col. Chaillé-Long in his letters referring to the discoveries in Equatorial Africa, and that these deprecia-

tions may have crept into compilations of African geography published in England. Not through *me*, however. *I* am no more responsible for this than the Man in the Moon—if there is one. Stanley wrote and printed much unkinder criticism of other African explorers besides Col. Long—even of myself and my own opinions. It was Stanley's way.

"Believe me, there is *no* desire in English geographical circles to be unfair to Col. Chaillé-Long: certainly no such desire in my own mind. If Col. Long thinks he has received insufficient justice at our—or my—hands, I shall be delighted to assist him. A good opportunity offers itself. In the month of December next we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Speke's discovery of the Nile sources. This would be a most appropriate occasion on which to establish the right place in Nile exploration of Col. Chaillé-Long; and if he will permit me to be his advocate and will furnish me with notes and references, I will endeavour to see that justice is done to him on this side of the Atlantic.

"Any communication to that effect should reach me before October 14th, as after that date I am going abroad for a short time.

"I am, your obedient servant,

"H. H. JOHNSTON."

As a result of this correspondence Sir Harry Johnston came to America, and I received a note from him, dated R.M.S. *Teutonic*, October 20th, 1908, announcing his arrival and asking my permission to interview me for the London *Times*. I readily assented, and asked, in my reply, the same favour for the Washington *Star*, with which I was connected.

I met Sir Harry Johnston at the British Embassy, in Washington, by appointment, on November 13th, 1908, where we interviewed each other. My interview

with Sir Harry appeared in the *Star* of November 14th. Sir Harry's interview was not so fortunate and was not published by the *Times*. The *Star* interview need not be reproduced, because it was merely affirmative of the points covered in the preceding letters. The interview was friendly, and characterized by urbanity and courtesy on both sides. Sir Harry charged that Stanley was the manifest calumniator and the cause of the ill-feeling which had been engendered in the R.G.S. against the American officer and African discoverer. Sir Harry reiterated his desire to be friendly, and he would speak also for the R.G.S. In the month of December (1908) Speke's fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Victoria Nyanza would be celebrated; Sir Harry would be there and justice would be done.

When the *Bulletin* of the R.G.S. appeared, containing a paper read by Sir Wm. Garstin, entitled "Fifty years of Nile Exploration," I sent the following communication to the American Geographical Society, and it was published in its *Bulletin* for April, 1909 :—

"THE PART OF THE NILE WHICH COL. CHAILLÉ-LONG DISCOVERED.[1]

"WASHINGTON, D.C., *March 1st*, 1909.

"The *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society for February contains a paper read Dec. 15, 1908, before that society by Sir William Garstin, entitled 'Fifty Years of Nile Exploration,' on the occasion of the Jubilee of Speke's discovery of the Victoria Nyanza.

"Sir William Garstin mentions my exploration in a

[1] "This letter, received from Colonel Chaillé-Long, is a concise recapitulation of facts that are a part of history. They are again printed in the *Bulletin* because it is desired to reiterate the notable service of Colonel Chaillé-Long as the pioneer discoverer of a part of the Upper Nile and in the belief that his just title to be known for the work he did, should, in no way, be obscured."

paragraph[1] which may be intelligible, perhaps, to geographers, but it is obscure to the layman and the historian unacquainted with Nile exploration. There is no connection, in Sir William Garstin's brief note, of my discoveries with those of Speke and Baker. They are disconnected by several pages, as if there was no connection. Stanley did not *precede* me in the Nile basin, but *succeeded* me.

" My explorations are inseparable from those of Speke and Baker, which they supplement and complete; and to be intelligible to the reader, a notice of my work should follow immediately that of Sir Samuel Baker.

" It is confessed by Sir William Garstin that Speke, driven from his attempted exploration of the Victoria Nile, left an avowed blank in the Nile-source problem. Sir Samuel Baker next discovered the Albert Nyanza, but he also was driven from Unyoro and, consequently, never reached the Victoria Nile.

" It is confessed by all geographers that when General Gordon succeeded Sir Samuel Baker as Governor-General of the Egyptian Equatorial Province, the blank in the Nile, from Urondogani on the Victoria Nile to Mruli and Foweira to Lake Albert, left the Nile-source problem still unsolved. The Nile, indeed, according to some geographers, flowed eastward from the Victoria Nyanza.

" American officer, Lieut.-Colonel of the General Staff of the Egyptian Army since 1869, I was appointed chief-of-staff to Colonel Gordon, Feb. 19, 1874, and charged by Ismail Khedive with a secret mission—to

[1] " 'In 1874 Colonel Chaillé-Long explored the Victoria Nile and proved beyond all question that the river which entered the Albert Nyanza at Magungo was that which issued from Speke's Lake at the Ripon Falls. Colonel Long was also the discoverer of the reedy lakes known as Choga and Kwania, called by him Lake Ibrahim,' " p. 130.

make a treaty with Mtesa, King of Uganda. I left Gondokoro, accompanied by two soldiers, two servants, and native porters, April 20, 1874, and arrived at the capital of Uganda, June 19, 1874. I visited the Lake Victoria, July 14, and, returning to the capital, executed the treaty between the Khedive and the King, July 19. On July 28, I regained the Nile, reached Urondogani, August 5, descended the river in two bark canoes, and discovered, August 11, a lake to which I gave the name of Hussein (after Prince Hussein, Minister of War), but to which the Khedive subsequently gave the name of *Ibrahim* in honour of his father, the 'hero of Nezib.'

"The navigation of the Victoria Nile and the discovery of Lake Ibrahim completed Speke's discovery of the Victoria Nyanza and finally solved the Nile-source problem. I claim, therefore, with Speke and Baker, the part attributed to me by General Gordon.

"It is a part of the history of this mission confided to Chaillé-Long by the Khedive to state that, because of its success, Chaillé-Long was mentioned in General Orders to the Army. Dr. Schweinfurth, the distinguished African traveller, President of the Société Khédiviale de Géographie, of Cairo, introducing the discoverer, returned to Cairo, at a séance held in his honour, said:

"'The voyage of Colonel Long Bey has a marked place in the front rank of the grand and glorious voyages to Central Africa. The proofs of courage, constancy and temerity manifested by him are unique in the history of discovery.'

"The name of 'Cojae' was first substituted for Ibrahim in 1879 by Gen. Gordon, to whom I addressed a note asking him if he did not think that such a change was unjust both to the Khedive and myself. Gordon, then at Massowa, Abyssinia, replied promptly:—

"'MASSOWA, *Dec.* 9, 1879.

"'DEAR CHAILLÉ-LONG,—I received your letter (Oct.) to-day on my arrival from Abyssa. You are very much mistaken if you think I wished to detract from the just merit due to you for your passage from Urondogani to Mruli by calling the lake after the name given by the natives. * * * The map was put together when I was in the Soudan, and had I known that you would have wished the name given the lake to be inserted it would have been so, thus: Lake Cojae, alias Lake Ibrahim.

"'Believe me, yours very truly,

"'C. G. GORDON.'

"Gordon's letter, published in the N.Y. *Herald*, Jan. 23, 1880, says, in part:—

"'Col. Chaillé-Long of the Egyptian Staff passed down the Victoria Nile from Nyamyongo, where Speke was stopped, to Mruli; thus, at the risk of his life, settling the question before unsolved of the identity of the river above Urondogani with that below Mruli.

"'Those who care to study the successive steps which built up the map of the course of the Nile will know that to Speke is due the discovery of one portion, to Baker that of another, and to Chaillé-Long that of another portion, and of the lake alluded to.

"'C. G. GORDON.'

"Gordon, it will be remarked, claimed that the *native* name of the lake was Cojae. Subsequent travellers found other native names and substituted them according to fancy: 'Gita Nzige,' 'Quania,' 'Choga,' etc. In June, 1901, I appealed to Gen. Bassot, sub-director of the General Staff and of the Geographical service of the French Army, and received the following reply:—

" ' There is, for a fact, identity between Lake Ibrahim and the lake traced by Macdonald in 1897, and named by him *Choga*. Besides, all the lakes of this region have retained the European names with which their discoverers have baptized them (Victoria, Albert, Rudolph, etc.). There is not, therefore, any reason not to maintain that of Lake Ibrahim, and the name will be again adopted for subsequent editions of sheet No. 36 of the Map of Africa.'

" The names Victoria and Albert Nyanza, given these lakes by their British discoverers to mark a British enterprise, constitute reasons why Ibrahim should be maintained to mark an Egyptian enterprise.

" I submit that the foregoing facts, which have been set forth *in extenso* in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society for January and June, 1904, and January, 1908, constitute for me a place in the history of Nile exploration as having completed the discoveries of Speke and Baker, having followed immediately that of Baker.

" CH. CHAILLÉ-LONG,

" Corresponding Member."

On December 16th, 1909, the American Geographical Society awarded the Cullem Medal to Mr. Ernest Shackleton, the Antarctic explorer, who, on January 9th, 1909, after a long journey southward over the Barrier Sea and the Antarctic continent, reached a point within 97 geographical miles of the South Pole.

At the same meeting the Council awarded the Daly Medal to Mr. Charles Chaillé-Long, who, in 1874, navigated the Victoria Nile, discovered Lake Ibrahim, and completed the proof that the river issuing from Victoria Nyanza is the Nile.

" AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,
" No. 15 WEST 81ST STREET,
" *December 20th*, 1909.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" It gives me great pleasure to announce to you that the Council of the American Geographical Society at their last meeting voted you the Daly Geographical Medal for your service to Geographical Science in Africa.

" Congratulating you most cordially upon this honour, and with kindest personal regards, I am,

" Yours very truly,
" WILLIAM LIBBEY,
" Foreign Corresponding Secretary.

" Mr. Charles Chaillé-Long."

" If agreeable to you, this medal will be presented at some one of our regular meetings in the early part of year. As soon as the dates of these meetings have been decided upon, I will submit them to you in order to ascertain your wishes as to which will be most convenient."

The Daly Medal was conferred on the evening of February 15th, 1910, as related in Part I, *vide Bulletin* Am. G.S., March, 1910.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

GORDON AT KHARTOUM

WHAT WAS HIS REAL OBJECT?

ON the morning of February, 1884, General Gordon entered Khartoum. Archibald Forbes, the typical representative of that time of the press, wrote of him as a "Divine Figure from the North, the Saviour of a people," etc., and completed the picture by the bonfire in front of the palace into which tax registers, courbash whips, and bastinado rods were flung and burned. Gordon was the liberator. Gordon must have laughed cynically at the picture which the press had evoked.

It may be granted that General Gordon had come to liberate a people to whom he was sincerely attached, but now that we know his object in returning, his acts must be judged in connection with his prospective mission as the representative of Leopold at Lado.

In order to establish peaceful relations with the Soudanese his first act was to publish on the walls of Khartoum two proclamations, which should be reproduced for the information of the reader. These proclamations, needless to add, were the inspiration of the soldier and not of the saint.

Proclamation I was addressed

"TO ALL THE NOTABLES OF THE SOUDAN.

"In accordance with an agreement between Great Britain and the Khedive, I have been named Vali of the Soudan. In consequnce thereof this country has

become independent and autonomous, and I have given orders in this sense to all the Mudirs and employés of the Government. I am decided to give you back the happiness and prosperity which you enjoyed formerly under His Highness Said Pasha. Know also that His Majesty, the Sultan Emin of Believers and Khalif of God, had the intention to send, in order to restore order, a powerful *corps d'armée*, composed of Turkish soldiers, renowned for courage and valour. But I have maintained a great affection for you because of the four years passed in the Soudan as Governor-General. I have had pity on your situation, and I have done everything to prevent the sending of these Turkish troops. I have come myself, hoping to put an end to the effusion of blood, which is against the will of God, of His prophet and of His saints. You have heard that for your good and to obviate all complaints, I have formed a council, composed of Moulouks (petty kings) of the Soudan, and it is they who will govern in the future. This council will assemble twice a week, and oftener if it is indeed necessary.

" I abandon to you all the unpaid taxes and imposts up to the end of 1883, also the half of that which you ought to pay now. That which I do by this present is to show you my desire to give you back your happiness and prosperity, and to establish among you that justice which constitutes the progress of a country.

" Believe that which I say, for I call God to witness that it is the truth.

" GORDON PASHA,

" Vali of the Soudan."

Proclamation II was as follows :—

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUDAN.

"My desire is very great to give you peace and tranquillity. I know that the hardship which opposition to the slave traffic has caused you is very great. To-day I desire you to recommence with perfect freedom the traffic in slaves, and I have given orders that public criers shall make this known to all, that they may dispose of their domestics as they may see proper, and no one in the future shall interfere with the commerce.

"GORDON PASHA,

"Vali of the Soudan."

General Gordon did no violence to his personal views on slavery in issuing his proclamation reviving the slave traffic. His official views when formerly Governor-General, under the Khedive Ismail (1874–79), were different. The suppression of slavery and the slave trade was an old flute played upon by Governments for reasons of State. Ismail catered to this sentiment and his instructions to Gordon to suppress the slave trade were precise.

Under these orders I captured and liberated slaves in the Makraka-Niam-Niam country and on the Juba. Gordon had the idea that slavery was a Biblical institution, but, like myself perhaps, did not attach the importance to the question affected by the press, and we seldom discussed it.[1]

Until March, 1884, General Gordon is in Khartoum

[1] The author was born and reared in Maryland, where slaves were property and where his family were large slaveholders. The war between the States found them with this property on their hands because they would not consent to sell. Mr. Lincoln's proclamation emancipated these slaves and without compensation.

almost unmolested by the Mahdist forces, which had not yet flocked to his standard in very great numbers. Gordon is awaiting the acceptance of his resignation and the coming of Zobair to relieve him from the responsibility imposed upon him. Does he suspect why the acceptance is withheld ? We shall see that he knows why and that Khartoum is a death-trap out of which he can go only at the price of being charged with disobedience of orders.

General Gordon writes in his journal, page 304 :—

"*Her Majesty's Government told me, or rather my friend Baring told me, I was not to leave Khartoum for the Equator until I had permission. I have his telegram. So that if it was possible, or if I could do it—leave Khartoum—I should be acting against orders.*"

Whilst Gordon is writing the foregoing, Sir Evelyn Baring writes in *his* official Memorandum, on March 12th, 1883 : "*I told him* [Gordon] *by messenger on no account to proceed to the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Equatorial Provinces.*"

Official document, Sir E. Baring, March 13th, 1884 : "I have instructed General Gordon to hold on at Khartoum until I can communicate further with H.M. Government, and have told him that he should on no account proceed to the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Equatorial Provinces." (Egypt, 1884.)

Subsequently Lord Cromer writes, in *Modern Egypt*, as if conscience-stricken, "I do not think that General Gordon ever received this message. Nevertheless, I regret that I sent it. It would have been better for me, instead of telling General Gordon to hold on to Khartoum, to have taken upon myself the responsibility of directing him to retire at once to Berber, if he thought fit to do so."

But why not authorize Gordon to go south? What was there to be feared in letting him retire to the Equatorial Provinces?

On page 305, Gordon continues in his journal:—

"If it is right to send up an expedition now, why was it not right to send it up before? It is all very well to say one ought to consider the difficulties of the Government, but it is not easy to get over a feeling that a hope existed of no expedition being necessary *owing to our having fallen.*

"As for myself personally, I feel no particular rancour on the subject, but I own I do not care to show I like men, whoever they may be, who act in such a calculating way, and I do not think one is bound to act the hypocrite's part and pretend to be friendly towards them.

"If a boy at Eton or Harrow acted towards his fellow in a similar way, I *think* he would be kicked, and *I am sure* he would deserve it. I know of no sort of parallel to all this in history except it be David with Uriah the Hittite, and then there was an Eve in the case, who I am not aware of exists in this case. Remember, also, that I do not judge the question of abandoning the garrison or not. What I judge is the indecision of Government. They did not dare say abandon 'the garrison,' so they prevented me leaving for the Equator with the determination not to relieve and the hope—well, I will not say what that hope was. (March, April . . . August . . . why!) he ought to have surrendered, he cried, in six months. There is my point of complaint. The second is the fiction that it is the Egyptian Government which governs Egypt; it is a silly story, for everyone sees through it. Can one imagine a greater farce than Lord Northbrook asking Thewfik for the assistance of Egyptian Government to carry out this or that? I

expect the two roared with laughter over it. (Sorry I cannot manage a sketch of the same.) Baring would never laugh, it is too serious—like jesting in church."

Lord Cromer quotes the first twenty words of Gordon's challenge to let fly a Parthian arrow at Mr. Gladstone, who, he would have his reader believe, was in Gordon's mind. The fact is, Sir Evelyn Baring is meant, and no other. But Lord Cromer insists and shoots his arrow thus: "The fact that General Gordon's pathetic question admits of no satisfactory answer must for ever stand as a blot on Mr. Gladstone's political escutcheon."

But Mr. John Morley, now Lord Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone,* says that Mr. Gladstone was not only not responsible for Gordon's return or failure to rescue, but declares: "The failure to rescue was the fault of the generals in London, who fought the battle of the routes month after month, wasted much valuable time over the route to be followed, and finally chose the wrong one."

It is October 5th, 1884, and Gordon writes in his journal this terrible accusation. "Her Majesty's Government ought to have taken the bold step of speaking out and saying 'Shift for yourself' in March, when I could have done so, and not now when I am in honour bound to the people after six months' bothering warfare. Not only did Baring not say 'Shift for yourself,' but he put a veto upon my going to the Equator. *Vide* his telegram in Stuart's Journals."

On October 25th General Gordon wrote: "It may be that all this writing is unnecessary and that you have other views, but it is as well you know my opinion. I am secure against any loss by the King of the Belgians if I leave Her Majesty's service. Therefore I am, so to say, free of Her Majesty's service. If you turn me out as Governor-General, I am relieved from all responsi-

bility as to your actions in Soudan towards the people. I do not think I am insubordinate in this matter nor unreasonable."

General Gordon is in a trap. On no account can he proceed to the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Zobair, whom he has asked for that he may turn over to him the government at Khartoum, as one of the recognized Sultans of the Soudan, had not been sent. Yet Gordon, though held by the slender tie of a resignation acceptance of which is withheld by some hostile influence, obeys the order " not to go south of Khartoum."

Nevertheless Lord Cromer has the courage to ask, in Vol. I, page 565, *Modern Egypt:* " What was General Gordon's duty? Did he, in reality, try to do his duty? "

Gordon's answer is flung in letters of fire across Baring's escutcheon. " Not only did Baring not say ' Shift for yourself,' but he put a veto upon my going to the Equator! "

On November 22nd, the besieged are already *in extremis.* General Gordon tells in his journals of his situation and losses. He had 1800 or 1900 killed and 242 wounded. He writes these memorable words, which are penned as a dying declaration:—

" If the expedition comes here before the place falls (which is doubtful), and if the instructions are to evacuate the place at once and leave Kassala and Sennaar, etc., I will resign and have nothing more to do with the government of the place or of the Soudan, and this I have a perfect right to do, and no one, not even Soudan's troops or people, could say one word. It will depend on circumstances how I shall act *in re* my commission in Her Majesty's service (which I do not hold too fast to, seeing any future employment would not be accepted, even if in the very improbable case of its being offered).

But I consider that every officer has a right to resign, and if he resigns, he is no longer subject to military orders, and is free to go when and where he likes."

The tardy rescue expedition, under Lord Wolseley, reached Wady Halfa October 5th, and the campaign began. It failed to follow Gordon's suggestion as to Berber, and that important place fell into the hands of the Mahdists.

On December 30th a verbal message was received that Gordon was in desperate straits. "We want you to come quickly." On January 20th, after desperate battles, the British were at Gubat on the Nile, where four steamers of Gordon's had awaited them for months. On the 24th the *Bordène* and *Tellawaheen*, carrying British and Soudanese troops, left Gubat for Khartoum. On the 25th the *Bordène* struck a rock at the sixth cataract, which caused delay. On the 28th the relief force was within sight of Gordon's Government House. But no flag was flying, and, as the steamers advanced, the horrible truth became apparent. The relief was too late, Khartoum was in ruins and had fallen two days before.

The garrison in the last days had eaten dogs and then skins of animals, gum and palm fibre; corpses filled the streets. On January 25th Gordon made a final appeal to the discouraged garrison. The promised British relief would come within twenty-four hours; "If this, my last promise, fails, I can do no more." He said to Bordeini Bey: "Go, collect all the people you can on the lines and make a good stand. Now leave me to smoke these cigarettes."

Many stories have been told of the last scenes in the drama upon which the curtain fell at Khartoum. The most credible is that, in the early morning of January 26th, the half-starved and disheartened soldiers

were rushed and overpowered by a general attack of the Mahdists.

General Gordon stood calmly at the door of the divan awaiting the attack, his hand resting upon the hilt of his sword. A Mahdist sheikh, Mohammed Nebawi, dashed forward, with the curse "*Malaoun-el-yom-yomak!*" ("O cursed one, your time is come!") and plunged his spear into his body. Gordon, with a gesture of scorn, fell under the blows of his assailants.

But for the fatal order "not to go south of Khartoum," Chinese Gordon would have lived to civilize and reclaim the savage peoples of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, under Leopold, King of the Congo Free State. Gordon obeyed Baring's order and died.

The late Sir William Butler, lieutenant-general, G.C.B., of the British Army, participated in the expedition for the relief of Khartoum. He published the life of General Gordon in 1891, and in 1910 an *Autobiography*, and on page 270 of the latter he wrote :—

"The line Khartoum-Berber-Abou-Hamed-Korosko Assouan formed the only route by which communication was possible, and formed a route, too, along which it was easy to maintain communication. It would not have cost England or Egypt twenty thousand pounds to make that road as secure against the Mahdi as was the remainder of the line from Assouan to Cairo. Only two places on the six hundred miles between Korosko and Khartoum required looking to; Berber, two hundred miles north of Khartoum, and Abou-Hamed, three hundred and thirty-seven miles from it. From Abou-Hamed to Korosko the desert was Egypt's."

"I do not think," says General Butler, "that in the whole range of modern military history another such example of stupidity can be found to equal the omission on the part of the governing authorities in

Cairo to secure the Korosko route to Khartoum after General Gordon had passed along it to his destination."

And General Butler declares that he has no means of deciding at whose door the main responsibility rests. "What," he asks, "were all these ministers, agents, generals, sirdars, and high functionaries dreaming of when they allowed that single door of relief and communication to be closed upon the man we had sent so glibly to his fate?"

General Butler cites Gordon as declaring on September 26th, 1884, that the effort to relieve the garrison at Khartoum was contemporaneous with the expiration of the period during which, he stated in March, he could hold out.

Sir William agrees that there were suspicious circumstances when he wrote in 1891, but he "could not say where the ugly suspicious circumstances ended and the dense stupidity began"; and Sir William adds:—

"My own personal reading now of the events of the time is that there was only one man then in authority to whom the fate of Charles Gordon in Khartoum was a real, tangible—ever-tangible, ever-present—anxiety. That man was Lord Wolseley."

Sir William's portrait of General Gordon, in his book *The Life of General Gordon*, is so unlike that usually painted that it merits reproduction.

"Gordon," writes the author, "was no saint in the usual meaning which the world attaches to the name. He was utterly removed from the class of religious church militant. . . . Neither had he the smallest fellowship with another large class of persons, who would divide religion into two parts, the muscular and the Methodist, one half John Bull and the other John Knox. Absolutely without a parallel in our modern life, Gordon stands out the foremost man of action of our time and nation, whose

ruling principle was faith and good works. There was never a man less like his picture than Charles Gordon, and there seldom has been one whose personality it is more difficult to put into words. It is doubtful if even the men who knew Gordon best observed or suspected a tenth part of what was in him, for the very lightness of the surface deceived people."

The portrait is finely drawn and cannot be excelled. In my intimate relations with General Gordon, interrupted by the expeditions I commanded, and in which he had an absorbing interest, I saw in my chief only the soldier side of his character. I refused to see in him the saint. He has been painted by his over-zealous friends almost entirely as a saint, and to this exaggeration is due, perhaps, now the tendency of his enemies to defame him and treat him as a religious fanatic and madman. When I dared maintain that Gordon was more soldier than saint, my insolent critics flung at me the dictum of Marshal Catinat: "*Il n'y a pas de héros pour son valet de chambre.*"

In the winter of 1885 a New York journal requested me to write an article about General Gordon as a man, and I wrote "General Gordon as He Is," which was commented upon editorially thus:—

"The paper published in this issue[1] by Colonel Chaillé-Long possesses peculiar value. It is a photograph and not a chapter of ecstatic pæans. Chinese Gordon is described by his former chief-of-staff in the Equatorial Provinces as he is.

"There is hearty appreciation of his genius, but no indiscriminate incense-burning. The human frailties of the man are recounted, as well as his great qualities as a leader and soldier. Nothing is set down in malice. Charity is fully exercised, but Chinese Gordon appears

[1] *New York Tribune*, January 25th, 1885.

for once, not as a mythical demi-god, or as high priest of mediæval piety and Eastern mysticism, but as a great man with thoroughly human traits, who drinks French brandy as well as reads his Bible, and whose violent temper, capricious disposition, and rapid transitions of judgment stand in the way of his permanent canonization as a military saint."

General Gordon's predominant characteristic was ambition. It was the key to all the apparent inconsistencies which have rendered him an impenetrable enigma to those even who claim to have known him well.

Our mutual friend Sir Richard Burton, than whom General Gordon had no more sincere friend and admirer, agrees with me as to Gordon's real characteristics, and he deplored, as I did, the stupid desire of his friends to exalt the somewhat impossible saint at the expense of the gallant and meritorious soldier.

Burton wrote of him in the *Academy* in 1885: "Gordon has been levelled down by certain friends fussily sympathetic, those burrs which cling to the skirts of a great man and which rise, as the Easterns say, like beetles borne in roses upon the heads of kings. In their thirst for notoriety they have managed to weary the public of his name. The curious changes of policy and conduct which perplexed his best friends, such as his slavery proclamation at Khartoum, his hanging the unfortunate slave-dealer, a measure which I, not being a Christian hero, would never have taken, had they not actually committed murder. Hence his fury against Zobair Pacha and then his extreme anxiety to re-employ him; also his convicting an employé of deliberate money theft and promoting the same man to a pashalik a few months afterwards. Hence, apparently, he forgot to insist at head-quarters upon his

being followed at once by a body of English troops, 500 or 5000 bayonets, and his stinging sense of being deserted till they were sent up under 'General Too Late.' And so in minor matters; for months he would drink nothing but water, and then prefer decidedly water with whisky. His letters to me show a many-sided man, utterly unlike the mere Puritan the bibliolatrist of popular belief.

"'Are you sure of his death?' I have been asked; and I answer: 'No; all accounts of his being killed are so discrepant, so *louche*, that I should not be surprised to hear of him somewhere in the direction of the Congo slowly making his way south. I cannot yet persuade myself to despair of shaking hands once more with Chinese Gordon, and of congratulating him upon another miraculous escape, the man I have ever looked upon as the soul of honour.'"

I was in frequent correspondence with my friend Sir Richard Burton, then H.B. Majesty's Consul at Trieste, and on one occasion showed a letter from him just received at the Manhattan Club, N.Y., to Governor Dorsheimer, editor and proprietor of the *Star*. "Do you believe, as Sir Richard Burton, that Gordon is alive?" I replied that I did believe it, and because of the knowledge of his aspirations in the Soudan. Governor D. thereupon begged me to write the article which appeared in the New York *Star*, May 23rd, 1886, under the title "Is General Gordon Alive?" and which created interest in both Europe and America. Mr. Demetrius Boulger, a friend of General Gordon and his biographer, has written of him: "Even to the end of his life there were two sides to his character; private grief, much disappointment, and a long solitary existence contributed to make him a melancholy philosopher and a sometimes austere critic of a selfish world. It

may be pronounced a paradox to say so, but to the end of his life the true Gordon was more of the soldier than saint."

Finally, General Gordon's sister, Miss Gordon, has said: "Sensational writers had seized upon a few solitary incidents in his life, and upon them had built up a fantastic superstructure of mysticism, eccentricity, and religious fanaticism, whereas in his actual life there were none of these."

This was the Gordon, indeed, whom Burton, Boulger, and Butler in turn knew, and whom I knew. The portrait is neither the popular nor the official one, but its sincerity may not be disputed. "Chinese Gordon" himself would have preferred, I am sure, to know that his best friends valued him more in his rôle of soldier than in the doubtful part as saint, which is permitted to so few mortals.

I owe a tribute to the memory of my distinguished chief in whose service I won his confidence and esteem. It was General Gordon who cordially recognized my part in the final solution of the Nile Source problem, recognition which the jealous coterie indicated by Burton succeeded in holding up for more than a generation.

General Gordon's enemies, of whom he had a few in the Departments in London, would write him in history as disobedient, disloyal, and mad. His return to the Soudan in 1884 has been made to appear as a "fool's errand," as, indeed, it was if it was confined to the evacuation of the Egyptian garrison as officially declared. But recent disclosures, certain official confessions of facts, show that Chinese Gordon, far from being the madman even his friends began to believe, was obedient, loyal, and sane.

General Gordon was eager to sever his connection with the British Army and accept a position under

Leopold II in the service of the Congo Free State. Thus the evacuation of the Egyptian garrisons and the Khedive's firman were mere incidents and not the main objects of Gordon's return to the Soudan in 1884.

His urgent and repeated requests for Zobair, an " ancestral Sultan " of the Soudan, were logical and wise. He would turn over his authority to Zobair and proceed south. Zobair's appointment would solve the problem. But Gordon's liberation would mean the turning over to Belgium of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Equatorial Provinces !

Zobair was refused, acceptance of Gordon's resignation was withheld, and Gordon was ordered " not to go south of Khartoum." That Gordon understood the situation finally, his last words are proof: " Not only did Baring not say ' Shift for yourself,' but he put a veto upon my going to the Equator."

APPENDIX III

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE CHAILLÉ-LONG FAMILIES IN FRANCE AND AMERICA

THE author, during long residence in France, from 1882 to 1902, with intervals of absence, made careful research in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Paris: the Rue des Francs Bourgeois: the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris: Bibliothèque Municipale de Poitiers: the archives of the Department de Vienne (Poitiers): the archives of the Charente-Inférieure, La Rochelle, Chaillevette, Marennes, etc., with the object of verifying the affiliation of the Chaillé and Long families of France and America.

The archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay contain the correspondence of Louis XIV and his Ambassador at London and Amsterdam, M. Bonrepans, but except a general proclamation addressed to the exiles and mention of a certain Chaillé of La Tremblade, there is nothing to corroborate the statement made by Baird[1] in the citation here made.

[1] Baird's *History of the Huguenots in America* mentions the Chaillé as among the persecuted in Aunis (1681). Also that the tradition of the Chaillé family in America was that Peter and Moses escaped from La Rochelle on board an English vessel, that Peter Chaillé was spokesman, chosen by his fellow-refugees, to refuse a message addressed to them by Louis XIV inviting them to return to France, that he entered the British Navy, that while in England he married a lady of Huguenot birth, Margaret Brown or Marguerite Broune; that they removed to America, establishing themselves, first, at Boston; that his son, Moses Chaillé, as early as 1710, was a resident of Maryland.

The British Admiralty contains no record of any Chaillé who ever entered the British Navy, nor has the author found any record of the marriage of Peter Chaillé with the lady mentioned.

The following mention appears in a volume of Agnew (published in London), of *Admission to Domicile* in England: "Samuel Chaillé, March 8, 1682: Paul Chaillé, July 2, 1684: Peter Chaillé, September 9, 1698: Jacques and Michel Chaillé, March 11, 1700."

The records of the Charente contain the following note:—

"At the period of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes there were at *Chaillevette* and *La Tremblade*, near the mouth of the *Seudre* in the *Charente Inférieure*, three brothers Chaillé: Pierre Chaillé Sr.[1] (also Pierre Jr.): Elie Chaillé de la Couture: and Elie Chaillé Sr. des Palles."

The volume *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, page 308, mentions the following significant note by an agent of the police, named Castelars:—

"There is at Chaillevette a certain Pierre Chaillé, of those *gros bourgeois des vaisseaux* ('wealthy ship merchants'), who has not yet appeared at church. He has taken his ship *Le Masson* to La Rochelle. I do not say, Monseigneur, that this Chaillé desires to leave France, but I am sure that he has not gone to church on Monday. We will continue to visit the churches.

"I am,

"CASTELARS, Sub-Agent of Police.

"Marennes, *June* 29, 1686."

[1] Pierre Chaillé, sen., was a wealthy ship merchant, married to Suzanne Sauzeau. The Pierre, jun., is a son, a Doctor of Medicine, married to Marie Chevallier, November 25th, 1682.

The author, after diligent research, found that the facts of the escape from La Rochelle are erroneous; that he did not escape on an English vessel, and did not enter the British Navy.

The note of the police agent proved an important factor in the affiliation of the family of the Poitou, and Chaillevette, in the Charente Inférieure, and in America.

The distinguished Abbé de Fénélon was delegated by Louis XIV to follow closely the actions of certain persons in the Saintonge suspected or accused of sympathy with the Reform movement. Among those whom the Abbé was specially instructed to watch was Dr. Pierre Chaillé, who, besides practising medicine, was suspected of being a follower of Calvin. The Abbé addressed the following letter to his colleague, Abbé de Cordomoy, dated April 21st, 1689 :—

" I cannot refrain from saying to you confidentially that, in order to finish up the matter, you must choose in each place certain dominating and envenomed spirits who dominate the others, now by shame, now by seduction, and exile them into the heart of the kingdom where there are no Huguenots."

The secretary of Mgr. Chateauneuf, at the close of April, 1693, wrote :—

" Seigneur Chaillé is a doctor of medicine of La Tremblade, a new convert, who, being a bad example, has been sent by order of the King, some months ago, to the Château de Loches.

The author discovered in 1896, through the friendly intermediary of M. Meschinet de Richemond,[1] archiviste of La Rochelle, a *placet*, or series of twenty-five or more letters, in the Archives Nationales at Paris, addressed

[1] The author acknowledges with great pleasure the aid extended him in his researches by M. Meschinet de Richemond, Archiviste of *La Charente Inférieure*, M. Alfred Richard, Archiviste of *La Vienne*, and M. Paul Le Long, director of the Archives Nationales at Paris. M. Meschinet de Richemond is allied by marriage to the Chaillé family, and his *concours* was invaluable.

by Dr. Chaillé[1] from his prison, the Château de Loches, to Mgr. Chateauneuf. An extract from one of these petitions, dated September 10th, 1693, is as follows :—

" Permit me, in pity, Monseigneur, to implore your *grandeur's* mercy in the present conjuncture. I am informed of the incendiarism of my house, and the death of my dear wife, the 11th of last month, who has left three orphans, the oldest not yet seven years, and one, the youngest of my family, in bed since twenty-six months, wounded in the thigh by a cannon ball in a combat on a ship returning from America. Not having the means of subsistence except from what our labour affords and which ceases by my detention. . . . PIERRE CHAILLÉ."

Dr. Pierre appears to have been released from the prison of Loches in 1695 (having been also an inmate of La Trompette and Chinon). He escaped to England, accompanied by his three sons, Jacobus, Moise, and Pierre.[2]

[1] M. Meschinet de Richemond discovered at Montpellier and communicated to the author the following copy of the Register of the Medical University of that city :—

" Ego Petrus Chaillé Hantoninsis examinatus fui in logicis et in phisicis et inscriptus albo studiosiorum Medicinae Monspeliensium die 8° Mensis Martis anno 1677 a RR.D. Michaele Chicoyneau Consiliario et procuratore Universitatis.

" PETRUS CHAILLÉ, Hantoninsis."

" Registre Matricule 1675–1695.

" Folio 14, Faculté de Médicine de Montpellier."

[2] The author discovered in the Archives of Chaillevette the following baptismal act of Pierre, the youngest son of Dr. Pierre Chaillé, the author's great-grandfather :—

" Baptême : Aujourdhui huitième d'Aoust mil six cent quatre vingt treize (1693) a este baptisé en l'église paroissale de Chaillevette par moy pbre. prieur curé soussigné Pierre Chaillé agé de deux mois huit jours fils natl. et légitime de Pierre Chaillé médicin et de Marie Chevallier ses père et mère, a esté parrain Pierre Viau et marraine De Lomeau. En presence de soussignés, Chevallier, Dugorrayubre. Curé de Chaillvetté le 8 aout, 1693.

The father, Pierre Chaillé Sr., was a wealthy ship merchant, the captain of the port of Chaillevette and owner of the ship *Le Masson*. In 1695, or thereabout, it is assumed that the Chaillé family left France in *Le Masson*, and this assumption is corroborated by the traditions of the Chaillé family in America, namely, that subsequently " Pierre or Peter Chaillé returned to France in his own ship and was lost."

The author, in quest of information as to the passage of the Chaillé exiles in England, received the following note from Mr. A Giraud Browning, secretary of the French Hospital in London: " Jacob Chaillé,[1] by his will, dated June, 1763, proved February, 1764, describes himself as 'of Plymouth, merchant,' and mentions 'my now wife, Susannah' and 'my wife's two daughters.' Also 'my son Jacob,' unmarried, as executor of his will. In 1776 administration was granted upon the will of Elizabeth Chaillé,[2] of Amsterdam, spinster, to her sister, Esther Sussanah Chaillé."

Jacob Chaillé of Plymouth was presumably the eldest son of Dr. Chaillé. Moise and Pierre accompanied the father, Dr. Pierre Chaillé, to America, where first mention is made in America in the records of the Clerk's office of Princess Anne, Somerset County, Maryland, to the effect that two young Frenchmen, " Moses and Peter " Chaillé, had arrived there in the year 1710.

On December 13th, 1774, Mr. Peter Chaillé, son or

[1] Jacob Chaillé died at Plymouth, England, July, 1763; Moses Chaillé died in Snow Hill, Worcester County, Maryland, May, 1763.

[2] The secretary of the *Commission d'Histoire des Eglises Vallones*, Archiviste of Leyden, Holland, M. Charles Dozy, replying to the author in 1899, said: " In the lists of baptisms and marriages in the Wallon Library there are two or three hundred of the name Chaillé, Chelye, Challie, etc. Elizabeth Chaillé was interred at Amsterdam, March 19th, 1776; Susanne Chaillé, the 24th February, 1776."

brother of Moses Chaillé, and Mr. John Done, having been elected members of the Senate for Worcester County, took their seats at Annapolis.

The Convention, which assembled July 26th, 1775, discussed the Proclamation of American Independence promulgated that day by the Association of Freemen of Maryland.

The Proclamation, dated July 26th, 1775, bears the signature of Peter Chaillé, and we find him taking a prominent part both in civic organization and in the preparations for defence.

The Convention, on January 2nd, 1776, elected Moses Chaillé first lieutenant and Solomon Long second lieutenant of the 3rd Company of "Independent Companies." On January 6th, the Convention elected Senator Peter Chaillé colonel of the 1st Eastern Shore Maryland Battalion of Infantry. He was appointed by the Convention one of a Commission to frame the Constitution of the State: appointed April 21st, 1788, delegate of the Convention to sign and ratify the Constitution of the United States.

In the war for American Independence the following dramatic incident may be cited. The Chaillé family in France were allied to the ancient family of de Bessay,[1] in the Poitou. Captain Renée[1] Isaac de Bessay de la Vouste commanded the French frigate the *Intrépide*, in the d'Orvillier squadron, in the naval combat with the British on the 27th July, 1778, off Ushant.

In the action, the *Intrépide* was sunk and Captain de Bessay went on board *La Couronne*, commanded by Count du Chaffault, by whose side, a few hours later,

[1] De Bessay, lieutenant de vaisseau *Le Protecteur*, March 1778, and Count d'Estaing, d'Agu de la Voute; Charles Réné, sous-lieutenant, Regiment de Saintonge, under Colonel Rochambeau, son of General Rochambeau. Vide *Combattants Français de la Guerre Americaine*, Chaillé-Long, 1905.

Captain de Bessay fell, fighting gloriously for the cause of American Independence, his head taken off by a cannon ball, *the head wounding du Chaffault.* Captain de Bessay was descended from Bounaventure Chaillé, Count de Bessay, and his death in the cause of American liberty was an involuntary reunion of the family in America, in spirit if not in form, though separated by a century and by a vast ocean.[1]

[1] Moses Chaillé, the elder of the two brothers, arrived in America, married Mary Allen, daughter or sister of Judge Allen, of Snow Hill, Md., had (1) Moses, aged 9 months, dec'd. Sep. "ye 4, 1729." (2) Moses, aged 2 years, dec'd. May "ye 18, 1734."

The graves of the forementioned infants, discovered by Dr. Chaillé, are in the "old Granary Churchyard" in Boston.

The Allens were French Huguenots and wrote their name originally Allèyne, there were two sisters Allèyne.

Moses and *Mary Allen*, besides, had *Mary* (daughter Moses), who married Dr. Johnson of Talbot Co., Md., had Mary, Elizabeth, Henrietta, Theodore.

Mary married General Benson.

Henrietta married Colonel Frazier, U.S.A.

Elizabeth married Rev. John Ross, P.E. Church, Snow Hill.

Theodore died infant.

Peter Chaillé, brother or son of Moses, married Comfort Houston, had Peter, Moses, William, Zachariah, James, Henrietta, Mary, Elizabeth, Margaret, Amelia, Henrietta-Maria, and Comfort.

Peter married Milcah Wilson, had Wm. Henry Chaillé, Lieutenant, U.S.N.

Milcah, widow, married Dr. Matthias Jones.

Moses married Miss Purnell, had Lollie, who married W. Purnell, had W. Purnell, who married Margaret Martin.

William married Anne Handy, had W. H. Chaillé, who married Miss Stanford (Dorchester Co.), had Dr. S. E. Chaillé, who married Laura Montfort, had Mary Laura, who married Dr. Jamison, had Stanford Chaillé Jamison, and David Jamison Chaillé.

Zachariah married Miss Matthews of Accomac, Va., had Amelia Maria, Caroline, Hetty, John, Peter.

James died in infancy.

Henrietta died in infancy.

Henrietta Maria, born July 4th, 1776, married Anthony Bacon, had James, Thomas, Hetty.

Mary married Robert Done; Mary, widow, married Ebenezer Handy.

The progenitor of the Long family of Somerset and Worcester Counties, Maryland, was Samuel Long, who settled in Somerset County in 1645.

This family is descended from the numerous family of that name in the Poitou and Southern France, where the name is still frequent and distinguished by its connection with Jean François le Long, conseiller and procureur-général of the Senéchaussée de Civray, in 1770. The rolls of the fleets of d'Estaing, de Grasse, and de Ternay, the regiments of Saintonge and Touraine, are replete with the names of Long, who fought under the banners of France for American Independence. Besides,

Elizabeth married Colonel John Custis Handy, brother of Colonel Sam Handy, had Dr. Littleton, Samuel, Betsy, Maria, Hetty.

Dr. Littleton married 1st Miss Stran, 2nd Sophia Jones.

Amelia married Colonel John Gunby, had Sally, John, George Washington, Amelia.

Sally married J. Hutchinson; Amelia married W. A. Jackson.

Margaret married Captain Levin Benson, had James, Francis, Wm. Henry.

James married Lucinda-Ann Blakey, had Mary Chaillé, Hallie, Medora.

Mary Chaillé never married.

Hallie married W. Hyde, had Chaillé and Amy.

Dora married Colonel J. G. Kelly, had Neva, Alice.

Comfort Chaillé married Levin Long (son of Major Soloman Long), had Littleton, Margaret Chaillé, Henrietta Chaillé-Long.

Littleton married Anne Mitchell Costen, had Sydney Chaillé, married Mary Wilson.

Henrietta Amelia married John Henry Dennis.

Columbus died in infancy.

Juliana married 1st, E. Helfenstein, 2nd, Cuthbert Powell.

Joseph Covell married E. Brown.

Littleton married Mary Jenkins.

Mortimer Addison

Charles Chaillé-Long married Marie Amélie Hammond.†

† The Author read a paper by invitation on the evening of April 13th, 1903, before the Historical Society of Maryland, entitled "The Eastern Shore in the Revolution; the Chaillé family in France and America."

the name is essentially Latin, and wherever found in Saxon, Irish, Dutch, or other non-Latin countries, it is a certain indication of an *émigré* from a Latin country.

Soloman, grandson of Samuel,[1] was appointed by the Convention, January 2nd, 1776, second lieutenant of the 3rd Company Independent Infantry, and was subsequently promoted first lieutenant and captain, and participated in all the battles under Smallwood, which rendered glorious the prowess of the Maryland Line. He was subsequently promoted Major of Maryland Militia.

Levin, the son of Major Solomon Long, married Comfort Chaillé, the daughter of Colonel Peter Chaillé, and this alliance explains the hyphenated name of Chaillé-Long given him by his father and legalized as a patronymic.

The Chaillé family is one of the oldest in the Poitou, France. The first mention is found in the *Archives Historiques de Poitou* in a *Bulle* of the Pope Calixtus II dated May 13, 1123, and again in a *Bulle* of the Pope Adrian, dated April 16th, 1158, placing the Abbaye de

[1] From Samuel were descended David, Solomon I, Solomon II, Zadoc, Levin, Littleton, Edward, etc. Solomon II and Zadoc were brothers, and both rendered distinguished military service during the war for American Independence. Zadoc's tomb is on the farm owned by the great-grandson, Charles W. Long, son of Edward, situated near Princess Anne, Maryland. On the tomb is inscribed the following: "Born 1756, died 1838, having devoted the morning of his life to the service of his country."

Solomon's tomb is unknown, and from the following note in the history of Maryland troops it is assumed that he died and was buried on one of the battle-fields on which the Maryland Brigade was distinguished. The note cited refers to the disaster at Fort Washington :—

"Of General Beale's Brigade, 160 are prisoners, and Captain Long's company, he being sick in the Jerseys, Colonel Smallwood is among the wounded. There are 300 officers and men on the sick list, incapable of doing duty. Majors Price, Gist, and Stone are lying ill in New Jersey."

la Trinité de Mauleon under the protection of the Holy See, both of which documents are signed, " Ste. Desiderée de Chaillée (Ecclesia)."

The family, supposed to be extinct in France, is represented in the Charente Inférieure at Chaillevette and adjoining parishes by the families of MM. Elie Chaillé, Paul Chaillé de Néré, Henry Junior Chaillé de Néré, their sisters, Mesdames Vaurigaud, Durst, *et al.*, Samuel Chaillé de la Couture, and the Chevallier family.

According to M. Elie Chaillé, who was living in 1899, four brothers Chaillé—Pierre, Michel, Jean or Jacques and André—fled from the Poitou, and, coming to the Saintonge (now Charente Inférieure), founded Chaillevette, a seaport. The Chaillé family has been shown by researches of Pasteur Nazelle and M. Meschinet de Richemond to have been unknown in the Saintonge prior to the name of Jacques Chaillé, son of Michel and Françoise Barjeau, born March 27th, 1652. The date of their arrival in the Saintonge, and the fact that Bounaventure was the first of a very Catholic family to espouse the Reform, as well as the similarity of *prenomens*, establishes indubitably the connection with Bounaventure Chaillé, who, according to M. Meschinet de Richemond, is the direct ascendant of the refugees at Chaillevette.

Bounaventure Chaillé,[1] Count de Bessay, married, in 1640, Louise de Bessay, widow of Solomon de Cailhaut, Seigneur de la Chévrotière[2] et du Mouzeil.

[1] *Decisions Catholiques*, CXIX, p. 750, MDCLXVIII. Jean Filleau (Poitiers).

Archives Historiques, Vol. XX, p. 18, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Anciennes familles de Poitou*, Beauchet-Filleau.

[2] Chévrotière is situated in the Vendée, in the Commune of St. Denis la Chavasse. Mouzeil is situated in the Vendée, in the arrdt. of Fontenay le Comte, Chaillé les Marais is situated in the same arrondissement.

Louise de Bessay was a Protestant of great wealth. Her family, one of the oldest and noblest of the Poitou, enabled her to contribute great aid and support to the Reform party, termed by the Catholics the *R.P.R.* or *Réligion Prétendue Reformée.* Louise de Bessay was the daughter of Réné, Sgr. de la Vouste, de Boisse, les Rochelles, la Maison Neuve. "Jean le Masson,[1] Seigneur de Bessay, brother of Louise le Masson, was a Huguenot and fled to England in 1699. His property was claimed by next of Catholic kin, the Seigneur Soulant de Grandchamp and his wife." Aside from the constant repetition of names in the families of the Poitou and the Saintonge, it is significant that Pierre Chaillé, one of the fugitive brothers, names his ship *Le Masson* (in honour of his mother or grandmother Louise de Bessay), *Le Masson* being the latter's family name.

A branch of the Lusignan family married a de Bessay. The Château de Bessay is situated near Roche-sur-Yon, one of the constructions attributed to the fairy Mélusine by the popular legends of the Poitou, the titular *protectrice* of the famous house of Lusignan.

Philippe II, son of Louis VII, King of France, established in 1222 the royal offices of *maire* and *échevin.* Charles V, King of France, conferred hereditary nobility upon the mayors and aldermen of Poitiers in a patent, dated 1372, which mentions, among others, Seigneur Simon Mouralt, a member of the Chaillé family, a patent of nobility, which, although hereditary, was reaffirmed in 1643, and again in 1662, with mention that the Act should not apply to other than the city of Poitiers. (Thibeaudeau, Vol. 3, page 365.)

M. Alfred Richard, archiviste of the Department de la Vienne, has published an interesting description of

[1] *Histoire Prohibante du Poitou,* p. 179, A. Lièvre, *Huag; Protestant Dictionnaire Historique des Anciennes Familles du Poitou,* Beauchet-Filleau.

the Chaillé family, in which he says that prior to the appointment of André Chaillé as maire of Poitiers in 1462 (and consequent ennoblement), the Chaillé were rich merchant importers[1] in the Rue St. Etienne, Poitiers, and resided in a house, a part of which is still standing and inhabited, adjoining that of the noble family of Claveurier, to which the Chaillé were allied by marriage. The Hôtel de la Rost stands near by, the famous *hostellerie* where Jeanne d'Arc stayed in 1429 when *en route* to raise the siege of Orleans.

The following notes of the ancient family of Chaillé are found in the inscription by M. Richard, and also in the *Dictionnaire Généalogique* de M. Beauchet-Filleau :—

" André Chaillé I, keeper of the Seals and Contracts of Poitiers, 1396 ; André Chaillé II, friar of Abbé of Montierneuf, 1402 ; André Chaillé, *échevin* of Poitiers, 1432, married Marie Boislève. ; André IV, *maire* of Poitiers, 1462, married Jeanne Rideau, Dame de Bernay ; Pierre Chaillé, brother of André, *échevin* of Poitiers, 1475, etc. . . .

" Jacobus Chaillé, canon of Church St. Radegonde, 1484 ; Maurice Chaillé, Seigneur de la Paillerie, Ban of Nobles, 1557 ; N. Chaillé, ensign of Duke de Guise at siege of Poitiers, 1569 ; Marguerite Chaillé[2] married Cresson Arthus, Seigneur de la Guichardière, 1503 ; Maurice Claveruier, Seigneur de la Tour-Savary, married Jeanne Chaillé, 1460 ; Marguérite Boislève married

[1] Jean Chaillé was an importer of *aromates* at Niort (1415–57). Jean Chaillé died in 1461, leaving one son, *Pierre Chaillé*, who was *échevin* and *maire* from 1454 and convoked with the Ban of Nobles of the Poitou in 1467 by Louis XI.

[2] The family of Marechal Meilleraye is allied to Porte. Alain de la Porte, Ecy. Sgr. de la Porte at Lusignac, who married, 1440, Anne de Pleyderau, daughter of *Elie Chevallier* and of Marguerite Brun, Dame de Champniers. (Extract from book on *Marechal de Meilleraye*, Bibliothèque Ville de Poitiers.)

The Château belonged in 1403 to the Liniers family, and in 1564 to Marguerite de Chaillé.

Joachim de Charge, Seigneur de Buxeil, of the family of Duplessis Richelieu," etc. etc.

The 23rd April, 1640, Bounaventure Chaillé, Seigneur de la Chévrotière et du Mouzeil, Count de Bessay, was still living as shown in a process in which he is defender with Renconnet, minister of the R.P.R., charged with permitting preaching on the property of Louise de Bessay, his wife, etc. . . .

The arms of the ancient Chaillé family are found in the *Dictionnaire Historique of the Ancient Families of the Poitou* by Beauchet-Filleau. Also in the *Armorie de Poitou*, Gouget, page 206, in the Bibliothèque de Paris, and are also sculptured in stone in the ancient Eglise des Cordéliers at Poitiers, as mentioned in the *Inscription*[1] *des Chaillé aux Cordéliers de Poitiers*, par M. Richard.

1st. The first écusson consists d'azur au chevron d'or accompagné de 3 chails de même posées deux en chef et une en pointe.

2nd. The écusson in the Church of the Cordéliers is the same, save that there are nine chails placed in groups of three chails, which M. Richard explains was merely the fancy of some member of the family.

3rd. The arms adopted by Jacques, Jean, Elie, and Pierre Chaillé, as registered in the Armorial of La Rochelle (Charles Hozier), 1698, and also in the Cabinet des Titres, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, 315–18. The same as the first except that there are three chevrons and innumerable chails.

4th. The arms adopted by Jacques de Chaillé, of Nantes, registered in the Armorial of Brittany, page 487, December 9th, 1689, consist of a red ground, chevron d'argent, coupés d'or, tête de cheval en or en pointe. Device, *Deo duce perseverandum.*

[1] *Inscription des Chaillé aux Cordéliers de Poitiers*, par M. Richard.

5th. The arms of Elie Chaillé de la Couture, same as No. 1, except in place of chails there are *croissants d'or.*

6th. The arms of the widow of N. Chaillé, Sgr. de la Couture, registered in the Armorial de la Rochelle, No. 109, consist of: Gueules a trois fasse d'or (fascia, band).

7th. The arms of Jeanne Rideau, Dame de Bernay, *D'azur au chevron d'or,* same as No. 1 except 3 besons d'or.

8th. The arms of the Boislève family are sculptured on the chimney-piece of a house in Poitiers, and consist of: "*D'argent au chevron d'or de gueules et 3 merlettes de sable.*"

9th. The arms of the de Bessay family were communicated to the author by the Rev. Père Beauchet-Filleau. They are inscribed, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, "Pieces Originales F. 2481: "De sable a 4 fusées d'argent posées en bande. Device, *Fac quod debes et non timeas.*"

The ancient Chaillé arms are known as *Armes parlantes. Chail* is a silex or flint common in the Poitou, formerly used as gun flints, the signification being, quick to strike fire. Thibeaudeau, in his history of the Poitou, mentions an incident in illustration of the vivacious characteristics of the Chaillé, great favourites at the court of Charles VII. The King on one occasion purposely provoked one of his courtiers, a Chaillé, and when his temper had been roused to the maximum, tapped him affectionately on the back, and said: "*Ne Chaillés pas!*" ("Do not take fire!")

On the occasion of a presentation (October 21st, 1904) of a gold medal to the author by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, "*in testimony of his service to science and valiant conduct in Central*

Africa and Egypt," the author, replying to His Excellency the Governor, said :—

" The device of the great Colbert, *Pro rege saepe, pro patria semper*, I adopt as my own, and add it to the shield of the ancient Chaillé arms, interpreting the device as a confession of loyalty to the chief executive, but, above all other considerations and attachments for man, loyalty *in excelsis* to the State, Maryland, my Maryland."

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INDEX

A

Abbas Hilmy Pasha, 439, 468
Abbassieh, 40, 46
Abbate Pasha, Dr., 160, 208, 213, 313, 414, 432
Abyssinia, war with, 173, 209
Abd-el-Al, 238
Abd-el-Kader Pasha, 313
Abd-el-Rahman, 89, 94, 107, 116, 148, 435
Abd-el-Rasak, Capt., 184, 275
Abdul-Aziz, Sultan, 16
Abou Hamed, 149
Abou Nadarrah, 463
About, Edmond, 26
Achmet, Prince, 524
Adam, Madame, 278, 332, 430, 486
Adowa, 310
Agnew, the Hon. J. T., 223
Ah-Cum, 388
Ahrendrup, Col., 174
Ainsworth, Gen., 499, 500
Akers, Major Albert, 204
Akkas, the, 131, 417
Alcock, Sir Rutherford, 358
Alexander, M., 241
Alexis, Grand Duke, 208
Alexandria, 22–4, 53, 216, 237, 251, 299, 393, 541
— massacre of Christians in, 245
Alexandria, the bombardment of, 254, 298–308
Ali, 252, 257, 262, 265, 270
Ali Bey, 42
Ali Captan, 84–7
Ali, Prince of the Grand Comoro, 187, 517–25
— letter of, 518
— extract from memoir of, 520
American Geographical Society, 407–8, 508
American Military Mission, 38–9, 61, 197, 215, 299, 309, 540
Amici Bey, 431, 437
Anson, —, 69
Appenzeller, Mr., 363
Arabi Pasha, 39, 225, 237, 253, 260, 263, 267, 269, 272, 275, 296, 391, 461
Ardouin Bey, Dr., 265–6
Arnaud Bey, 163
Assouan, 154, 155, 540
Atkinson, Dr., 492
Atkinson, Comptroller, G. T., 493
Audenreid, Col., 58
Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 197
Avrous, M., 454
Ayoub Pasha, 119

B

Baba Tuka, Major, 90, 110, 113
Baboeuf, 357
Bacon, Mr. Robert, 503
Badger, Dr., 194
Bagamoyo, 405
Bahr-el-Ghazal, 84, 126, 316
Baké-Bakkés, the, 129
Baker, Sir Samuel, 54, 65, 69, 79, 82–3, 106, 199, 217, 234, 405, 435
— letters of, 443–7
Ballay, 129
Baltimore, 8, 12, 201, 488
Baratieri, Gen., 480, 485
Barber, Lieut.-Comdr., 253, 262, 267, 299, 307
— letter of, 300–4
Bardera, 184
Baring, Major, 213
Baring, Sir Evelyn (*see* Lord Cromer)
Barringer, the Hon. V. C., 246, 249, 283, 330–2, 436
Barron, Commodore, 30
Bartholdi, M., 465, 479
Bates, H. W., letters of, 545, 555
Battel, Andrew, 129
Bayard, Secretary, 330–2
Bayle de Jessé, Admiral, 473
Beauchet-Filleau, the Rev. Père Dom, 483
Beauregard, Gen., 203
Belford, Mr. R. J., 528
Belle, M., 166
Bellefonds, A. L. de, 68
Bem, Gen., 9, 10
Benha, Bey of, 298
Benha-el-Assal, 25
Bent, Capt. Silas, 204
Berber, 77, 148
Berbera, 176
Beresford, Lord Chas., 255, 267–8, 276
Bernardy, M., 474
Bimbachi Loutfi, 134
Birch, M., 371
Bjorkstin, Mr., 396
Blaine, M., 368, 385, 396–8, 497
— letter, 368
Blair, Gen. F., 15
Blair, the Hon. Montgomery, 12, 15
Blanc, M. Louis, 357, 363, 465
Blavatsky, Madame, 223
Blaw, M., 473
Blignières, M., 213
Blunt, Mr. Wilfrid, 245, 314–5, 530
Bohrendorf, 68
Booth, Wilkes, 11
Bor, 120
Bordeaux, 454
Boulgers, M. Demetrius, 312
Boul-boul, 120
Boutros Bey, 519
Bradford, Lieut.-Comdr. Barton, 255, 277, 307
— letter of, 304–5
Brava, 177
Brazza, 129
Bremontier, M., 457
Brooks, Capt. N. M., 455
Brugsch, Dr., 130
Bryant, M. Henry G., 496
Bryant, Mr. Wm. C., 14
Buddhism, 359
Bujard, Commandant, 385–6
Burgevine, 71–5
— letters of, 72–4
Burton, Sir Richard, 199, 217, 409, 414, 416, 482

Burton, Sir Richard, letters of, 417–29, 529
Butler, Gen., 473, 533
— Mr. George, 41, 60
— Sir William, 212

C

Cairo, 25–32, 35, 86, 116, 154, 170, 194, 237
— Reign of Terror in, 244
Calvalieri, Conti di Pantellini, 37
Cameron, Major, 16–20, 32, 36
Campbell, Major W., 60, 68, 115, 116
Canton, 387
Carnot, President Sadi, 449
Cary, Clarence, 236
Casati, 129, 164
Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People, 198, 206
Cesnola, Gen. di, 223
Chaillé, Col. Peter, 6
— Dr. Pierre, 452, 470
— Dr. Stanford, 204
— M. Elie, 471–2
Chaillé-Long, Col. Chas., boyhood of, 2–4; enlisted in 1st Eastern Shore Regiment, 6; reminiscences of American Civil War, 6–12; residence in New York, 1866–9, 13–14; appointed Lieut.-Col. in Egyptian Army, 16; journey to Egypt, 19–24; presented to Ismail Pasha, 31; early service in Egypt, 39; incidents at Abbassieh, 40–53; service at Alexandria, 53-61; aide-de-camp to Emperor of Brazil, 61–3; joins expedition to Central Africa under Gordon, 67; at Khartoum, 79; visit to Gondokoro, 83–7; journey to Uganda, 89; visits palace of M'tesa, 92; obtains M'tesa's signature to treaty, 97; visit to Lake Victoria Nyanza, 97; explores Nile sources, 100; discovers Lake Ibrahim, 113; returns to Gondokoro, 114; visit to Khartoum, 116; rejoins Gordon, 119; at Lado, 122; elephant shooting, 124; opens up road to country of the Makraka-Niam-Niam, 126–34; at Regaf, 145; journey across the Korosko desert, 148; arrival at Cairo and reception by Khedive, 155–7; on sick leave to Europe, 162; recalled to Cairo, 170; ordered to East Coast of Africa, 175; camping and incidents at Juba River, 178–91; returns to Egypt, 194; visit to Europe and America, 199–205; incurs displeasure of Khedive by publication of *Central Africa*, 206; resigns Ismail's service and returns to America, 216; residence and occupations in New York, 222–36; returns to Egypt and is received by Thewfik Khedive, 237–8; visit to the Thebaid, 243; return to Cairo, 244; assumes charge of U.S. Consulate at Alexandria after the mas-

sacre, 246; incidents during bombardment of Alexandria, 246–72; resigns charge of Consulate, 277; practises as a barrister in Paris, 279; visits Egypt to plead before the International Commission des Indemnités, 283; visit to Tanteh, 284–96; witnesses execution of Suleiman Daoud, 296; refutes attack published in *Phare d'Alexandrie* on Americans in Alexandria, 298–308; return to France, 309; communications with Gen. Lew Wallace, 318; in New York, 319; in Washington, 330; lectured at Chicago Press Club, 333; accepts post of Consul-General to Corea, 338; incidents during life in Corea, 343–89; visit to Quelpaert, 371; visits China and Egypt, 383; interview with Thewfik Khedive, 393; returns to America, 396; retires from diplomatic service, 398; on editorial staff of *New York Herald*, 400; the Stanley expedition, 400–12, 525; married Miss Hammond, 412; letters from Sir R. Burton, 416–29; tour to Egypt, 430–40; returns to France, 441; offered charge of Nile expedition, 447; incidents during residence in France, 1893–6, 442–54; accepts post of secretary-delegate to International Postal Congress in America, 455; proposition to plant Atlantic coast with *Pin maritime*, 456; appointed secretary to Paris Exhibition Commission, 459; volunteers for war with Spain, 463; incidents in Paris, 463–87; returns to New York, 489; visit to Chincoteague Island, 489; presentation at International Geographical Congress, 495; Bills introduced in Congress for recognition of services in Egypt, 498; General Ainsworth's hostility, 499–506; letters from G. C. Hurlbut, 510–4; renews acquaintance with Sultan Saïd Ali, 517; awarded Daly Gold Medal, 539; speech to American Geographical Society, 539–42; "What it costs to solve the Nile source problem," 543–71

Chaillé-Long, Col. Chas., letters of, 169, 276, 400, 441, 464, 557, 568

Chaillés, reunion of the, 479

Chaillé-Long families in France and America, Biographical notice of the, 587

Chaix, M. Paul, 252

Chardon, M. Henri, 465, 467

Chedevergne, Dr. C., 453

Chemulpo, 340

Cherif Pasha, 173, 519

Chihin Pasha, H.E., 15, 23

Chincoteague Island, 489

Cho Pansa, 347

Cho-Pyong-Sik, H.E., 351, 365, 370

Chu-Song, 374, 376
Claretie, M. Jules, 479
Cleopatra's Needle, 324–8
Cleveland, President, 330–2, 336, 394, 470
Cochery, M., 319
Coetlogen, Col., 313
Colombo, 391
Comboni, M., 117
Compeigne, Marquis de, 160
Compayre, M., 452
Congo Free State, 279, 335, 402, 425
Conrad, Admiral, 254
Coppinger, Capt., 39, 56
Cordier, M. Henri, 495
Corea, 343–84, 497
— Art in, 358
Coreans, the, 358–63
Corean fêtes, 350
Coubertin, Baron F. de, 479
Coudert, M. F. D., 223
Crampel, 131
Crispi, 485–6
Cromer, Lord, 314–5, 319, 431, 530–8
Crozier, M., 479
Ctesias, 128
Culp's Hill, 7
Cummins, Col., 363

D

Dacarogna Bey, Dr., 215, 442
Dadowi, M., 252
Dahan-Dahan, M., 284
Daibutz, 341
Dallam, Mr. R., letter of, 464
Daly, Judge, 223
Daninos Pasha, 245
Daoud, Suleiman, 296
Dapper, 129
Darfur, 310
Dashiell, Senator, 492
Daudet, M., 279
Davis, M. Jefferson, 205
De Brazza, M. S., 279–81
Decken, Von den, 183
Decouret, M., 163
Decrais, M., 465
Delauney-Belleville, M., 465
Delcassé, M., 479–80
De Leon, 211
Della Salla, Count and Countess, 245
Deloncle, M. François, 417, 447
Dennis, Mrs. Henrietta, 172
Dennison, Lieut., 38
Dentu, M., 462
Derby, Lord, 70, 194
Dervish Pasha, 263
Des Essarts, Admiral D., 437
Dévise, M., 465
Dew, Capt. Roderick, 71
Dewitt, M., 68
Djaffer Pasha, 119
Djiboutel, 447–9
Dompke, M., 343
Doré, M. Gustave, 166
Dorsheimer, Mr., 223
Drexel, M. J., 223, 329
Du Chaillu, 129, 162
Dufferin, Lord, 310, 311
Durst, Mademoiselle, 472
Dwight, Prof., 235
Dye, Col. Mac E., 363, 383

E

Eads, Capt., 204
Early, Gen., Jubal, 8, 9
Eastern Shore Regiment, 1st, 6
Eaton, Capt., 30

Edward VII, H.M. King, 196, 511, 538
Egerton, Mr., 537
Egypt, the financial situation in, 211, 225
Egyptian Mission to Belad-es-Soudan, 69
Egypt's Ruin, 213
Eliadin Pasha, 76
El Madhi to the Tribes of the Soudan, 321–4
El Obeid, 310
Emin Hakim, 411, 526
Emin Pasha, 315, 393, 400–12, 537
Eugénie, Empress, 36
Evans, Dr. T., 171
Evarts, Mr., 326

F

Faideff, Gen., 208, 223
Falkenstein, 129
Fallières, President, 524
Fashoda, 83, 119, 447
Fechet, Lieut., 38
Fehmy, Sir Mustapha, 21, 210, 238, 262, 330
— Ali, 238
— Mahmoud, 238
Ferris, Mr. G. T., 332–4
Ferry, M. Jules, 310–11, 448
Field, David D., 222
— Dr. Henry, 222
— Justice, S. J., 222, 330
— — letter of, 323
— Mrs. S. J., 473
— letter of, 480
Filus, M., 257
Flandrin, Comdr., 387, 391, 430
Foa, Édouard, 126
Fondeville, M., 456
Forrest, Gen., 203
Fourier, 357
Foweira, 108–12
Fredda, Dr., 271
French Benevolent Society, 201
French, Daniel C., 479
— Gen., 203
Frere, Sir Bartle, 196, 199
Freycinet, M. de, 278, 310, 430
Fusan, 371

G

Gary, the Hon. J. A., 455
Gassan, M., 452
Gensau, 378
Gessi, Romulo, 68, 116, 120, 218
Gettysburg, 7
Gherardi, Fleet-Capt., 251
Gilder, Mr. R. W., 530
Gilmour, Gen. Harry, 202
Giraud, M. Paul, 241
Gladstone, the Rt. Hon. W. E., 316, 320, 461, 528–37
— letters of, 532, 533–5
Godard Bey, 519
Goldschmidt, Gen., 245
Gondokoro, 83, 87, 111, 116
Gongo, King of the Akkas, 130
Goodrich, Lieut.-Comdr. C. F., 265–6, 268, 279, 299, 307, 501
— letters of, 305–7, 409
Gordon, General C. G., invites Chaillé-Long to join expedition to Central Africa, 66; incidents of Taeping rebellion, 70–6; at Khartoum, 79; visit to Gondokoro, 83–7; meets Chaillé-Long on lat-

ter's return from Uganda, 114; Abou Saoud's treachery, 115; at Lado, 122; elephant shooting, 124; at Regaf, 145; disapproval of Great Britain's policy in Egypt, 95; visits Cairo to assist Ismail, but is snubbed, returns to Soudan, 213; recalled to Cairo, 227; mission to Abyssinia, 227; accepts various services, 1879–84, 230; criticizes conduct of Government in relation to massacre at Alexandria, 248; arranges with Leopold II for service in Congo Free State, 312; returns to the Soudan, 313; ordered to Cairo, 314; made Governor-General of Equatorial Provinces, 315; keys to the tragedy at Khartoum, 315–7; death at Khartoum, 329, 530; Thewfik's account of Gordon's death, 393; Gordon and Stanley, 408–12; Gordon and Nubar, 467; extract from his journal, 533; Lord Cromer's unfriendliness, 537; his sacrifice, 533; tribute from Chaillé-Long, 541; his object at Khartoum, 573–86
— letters of, 120, 135, 139–44, 146, 228–9, 554, 567
Gordon, Life of General, 212
Görgei, Gen., 9
Gounod, 333
Gowdy, Consul-Gen., 480
Goy, M., 465
Grandidier, M. G., 495
Grant, Lieut. Fred, 58
Grant, Gen., 281, 330, 405, 409, 415
Gravier, M. Gabriel, 448
Green, Judge, 223
Gregory, Sir Wm., 245
Granville, Lord, 314, 316
Grogan, 129
Guardafui, Cape, 176
Guerin, M., 343, 385
Guillemot, M., 473
Guizot, 167, 356

H

Hakkekyan Bey, 27–30, 33, 234
Halla-San, 377
Halid Pasha, Gen., 53, 78
Halim Pasha, 463
Halim, Prince, 24
Hamar, M. Fernand, 475
Hamel, Hendrik, 369
Hamet, Dey of Tripoli, 30, 179
Hamilton, the Rev. R. G., 488
Hammersh, M., 223
Hammond, Gen. John, 412
Hammond, Miss Marie Amélie, 412
Hancock, Gen., 223
Handy, Mr. M. P., 459–61
Hannington, Bishop, 165, 334
Hanotaux, M., 461
Hansel, Austrian Consul-Gen., 119, 137
Harrison, Col. B. N., 11, 223
Harrison, Mr. Carter, 339, 385
Hart, Sir Robert, 372
Hashaguchi Hiyakowa, 343, 383
Hassan, Halifa, Sheikh, 148
Hassan, Mr. Vita, 434
Hayashi, M. M., 385
Hazouk, Hakim, 48

Hendricks, Mr. T., 398
Henri V, King of France, 168
Heron, Dr., 363
Hewett, Admiral, 311
Hewett, Mr. A. S., 223
Hicks Pasha, 309, 312, 393
Hild, M., 452
Histoire Contemporaine, 299
Hiyashi, M., 343
Hobart, Mrs., 478
Holt, Gen., 10
Hong-Kong, 387
Hope, Sir James, 71
How I Found Dr. Livingstone, 400
Hoyami, M., 296
Humblot, Citizen, 523–4
Hunt, Major, 54–5
Hunt, Mr., 363, 372
Hunter, Mr., 284
Huntington, Mr. A. C., 508, 539
Hurlbut, Geo. C., 223, 408, 507–9, 539–40
— letters of, 510–4
Hassein, Prince, 68, 77, 160, 199, 206
Hutchins, Lieut.-Comdr., 299–300, 307

I

Ibn, Batutah, 163
Ibrahim Pasha, 468
Imouye, Capt., 343
In Darkest Africa, 538
Ireland, M., 482
Irgins, Capt., 38
Ismail Pasha, Ayoub, 78
Ismail Pasha (Khedive), appoints Chaillé-Long a Lieut.-Colonel in Egyptian Army, 16; etiquette at Court, 26; welcomes American officers to Egypt, 32; "Ismail the Magnificent," 35; protects American officers from insult, 42–3; appoints Chaillé-Long Gordon's Chief of Staff, 67; public reception to Chaillé-Long on his return from Uganda, 157; orders Chaillé-Long to Berbera, 175; recalls Chaillé-Long from France for service in Abyssinia, 192; Gordon's loyalty, 195; attacked by British Press, 195; misunderstanding with Chaillé-Long regarding *Central Africa*, 206–9; financial troubles, 209–15; summons Gordon to his aid, 212; farewell of Chaillé-Long, 216; abdication of, 226; and Nubar, 468
Isis Unveiled, 224

J

Jebel, Bajinza, 126
Jenifer, Col., 60
Johannes, King, 75, 227, 230 310
Johnson, President, 12
Johnston, Gen. J. E., 203
Johnston, Sir H. H., 513–4, 563
— letter of, 563
Jomard, M., 163
Jones, Mr. G. W., 223
Journals in Khartoum, 81
Juba, 174, *seq.*
Jusserand, M., 484

K

Kaba Rega, 106, 111
Kairy Pasha, 118, 148
Kassim Pasha, 52

Kellermann, Herr, 86, 198
Keltie, Mr. Scott, 405
Kemp, Adjutant, 11
Kennedy, Gen., 386
Kennon, Col., 16, 18–21, 33, 37, 39–41
Khandal, Saïd, 262
Khartoum, 78, 114, 116–9, 148, 310, 315, 447–9, 529
Khat-el-Istiwa, 157
Khedive's Egypt, the, 211
Khylan, 163
Kidda, General, 172
Kilpatrick, Gen., 7
Kim-Chang Jo, 364–5
Kim Wone, 371
King, 129
Kiou-Chiu, 358
Kirk, Dr., 194
Kirke, Sir John, 403
Kirkham, Gen., 75
Kismayu, 178, 190, 541
Kissembois, 108
Kitchener, Lord, 502
Kléber, Gen., 28
Kleckzkowski, M., 270
Koroski, N., 153, 316
Ko-Ulla, 377
Krien, M., 343, 385
Kublai-Khan, 375

L

Labonde, M., 452
Lacour-Gayet, Professeur, 483
Lacratelle, M. de, 486
Lado, 116, 120, 315, 411, 447
Lafayette to the French, account of presentation of statue of, 481
Lake Albert Nyanza, 101, 402, 407–10, 434–7
Lake Ibrahim, 103–5, 407, 511–2, 541
Lake Victoria Nyanza, 100, 403, 407–10, 541
Lamont, M., 337
Lamothe, M. François, 242, 279, 280–1
Lamotte, M. François, 252
Langle, Admiral F. de, 129
Lansdowne, Lord, 539
La Réforme, 197
La Roncière de Noury, Admiral, 162
La Rose, 35
Lassalle, 357
Latod, M., 252, 273
Lawrence, Mr. W. B., 223
Lebon, M., 449
Le Cointe, Mr., 450
Lee, General, 6
Lee, Major, 363, 364, 383
Lee-Childe, Mons. and Madame, 245, 319
L'Egypte et Ses Provinces Perdues, 441
Le Compte, Dr. Byron, 13
Leopold II, 312, 317, 402, 419
Les Grands Esquimaux, 370
Lesseps, Count F. de, 69, 160, 208, 212, 469, 521
Levett, Dr., 465
Lex, M. de, 41
Libby, Mr. Wm., 569
Liernur Bey, 432
Life of Gladstone, 530
Li Hi, King, 343, 347, 383
Linant de Bellefonds, Ernest, 164
Lincoln, President, 11
Li Tadjo, 359
Li Tutai, Governor, 72
Livingstone, Dr. David, 67, 199, 525
— James, 223

Livingstone, Louis, 223
Lockwood, Gen., 7, 15
Loesch, Capt., 39
London, 67–8, 70, 75, 199, 200
Long, Joseph Covell, 5
Long, Mortimer A., 18
Lopez, 417
Loring, Gen., 16, 22, 27, 33, 37, 39, 42, 55, 60, 206, 232, 320, 334
Lourdelet, M., 465
Luc, Capt., 391
Lugard, Capt., 446
Lusignan, 450

M

Macchio, M., 437
McClellan, Gen. G. B., 223, 233
McEnery, Senator, 503
— letter of, 503–6
Mackie, Dr., 215
McKillop, Admiral, 175–9, 182, 191–4, 208
McKinley, President, 456, 459, 481
— Mrs., 478
Mackinnon, Sir Wm., 400
McLane, Mr. R.,
McMahon, Gen., 334
— Marshal, 174
Madhi, the, 298, 310, 393, 438
Mahmoud, Sultan, 176
Mahmoud, Lieut., 184
Mahommed-Ali Pasha, 28–30, 468, 496
Malet, Sir Edward, 245
— letter of, 305
Manning, Mr., 383–4
Mannoir, M. Charles, 162
Mantegazza, M., 130
Mappo, 350
Marche, 129
Mariette Bey, 29, 160, 208
Mamelukes, the, 28
Marno, Herr, 119, 137, 198
Marston, Mr. Edward, 199
Martin, Lieut., 38
Maruejouls, M., 465
Marx, 357
Masson, M., 465
Massowah, 75
Masuki, M. Kondo, 343
Matthieu, Gen., 430
Maynard, Mr. Horace, 235
Meroe, M., 483
Merril, M., 363
Meyer, M., 363
Miani, 129
Miles, the Hon. J., 492
Minchoui Bey, 271
Mirzan, Madame, 234
— Stephen, 235
Modern Egypt, 317, 530, 537
Mogibe, Major Farhard, 184
Mollien, 129
Mombasa, 541
Monbutto, King of, 130
Monge, M., 270
Moore, Percolus, 7
Morgan, Col., 11
Morgan, Major M., 40, 42–6, 541
Morley, John, 312, 528, 533
Mott, Dr. Valentine, 16
— Henry A., 16, 18
— Gen. T. P., 16, 22, 31, 57, 309
Mourad Ali, 243
Moussa-Foumou, 522
M'ruli, 106, 115
M'tesa, King of Uganda, 90–5, 101, 164, 203, 224, 298, 410
M'tesa, Princess, 102, 148–9, 298
M'tongoli, 98
Muner Bey, 318
Munro, A., 462

Munzinger, 173
Murad Pasha, 21
Murchison Creek, 98
Murota, M., 373
Muse, Lieut., 13
Musella, M. T. de, 465
Mutel, M., 430
Myre de Vilers, M. le, 474–7, 479, 486

N

Nagaski, 340, 371
Naggiar, M. Habeeb, 241
Napier of Magdala, Lord, 21
Necker, Madame, 332
New Orleans, 204
New York, 11, 13, 16, 18, 205, 222–4, 234, 236, 396, 455
Niam-Niams, the, 126, 163
Nicholson, Rear-Admiral J. W., 223, 247–8, 253, 260–2, 272, 277, 300
— letter, 249
Nicoulland, M., 279, 319
Nienstead, Capt., 363
Niker, 269
Nile sources, 100, 400–12, 443–7, 541
Nile Source Problem, What it Costs to Solve, 543
Norman, Henry, 368
Nubar Pasha, 50, 209–20, 225, 315, 330, 394, 537
— — the career of, 468–70

O

Obok, 447
Olagnier, M., 519, 523
Olcott, Col., 225
Oliphant, Laurence, 420
Ord, Gen., 8, 9
Orlowsky, M., 119
Ortega, Count and Madame, 433
Oubanghi, 448

P

Pak, Pansa, 347
Pallain, M., 465
Paris, 20, 162, 165, 169 171–2, 204, 220–1, 430, 461, 484
Pedro II, H.M. Dom, 61
Pelto, 375
Périer, M. Casimir, 449
Petitot, the Rev., 370
Phelps, the Hon. W. W., 396–8–9
Picard, M., 465
Pichon, Dr., 386
Pietri Bey, 519
Pignatelli d'Aragon, Prince Joseph, 319
Pi-Kai-Yun, 497
Pina, Count de, 391
Plancy, M. Colin de, 343, 366
Poitiers, 450–1
Polk, Capt., 4
Poplar Springs, 7
Porter, Gen. Fitz John, 16
— Gen. Horace, 465, 473, 476, 479
Portsmouth, the Peace of, 497
Princess Anne, 2, 3, 205, 488
Proctor, Edna Dean, 320
Proudhon, 357
Purdy, Col., 54
Pygmies, 126–9
Pyramids, the, 29

Q

Quatrefages, M. A. de, 128, 162
Quelpaert, 369, 373

R

Ramesseum, the, 154

Randolph, Senator, 203
Raouf Bey, 87, 89
Raschid Pasha, Gen., 54, 55
Ras Hafoun, 176
Rataz Agad Company, the, 78
Ratazzi, the Princess, 413
Ratib Pasha, 40, 43
Ravenstein, M., 407
Raymond Bey, 281
— Gen. S. R., 282
Regaf, 134
Reinsdorf, M., 343, 385
Reverseaux, Marquis de, 437
Reynolds, Col., 60
Reynolds, Gen. A., 156
Rice, Mr. Thorndike, 332, 387
Richard, M., 453
Richmond, M. M. de, 453, 470
Ring, Baron de, 238
Rionga, 108–10
Robbins, Mr. Chandler, 507
Roberts, Brig.-Gen. B. K., 515
— Lord, 502
Rochambeau at Vendôme, the inauguration of the statue of, 474
Rogers, Lieut., 38
Rois in Exil, Les, 279
Rosina Volkes Company, the, 333
Ross, Robert, 7
Rothstein, M., 213
Rousselet, M., 129
Royal Geographical Society, the, 409, 415, 511
Rozet, M. Albin, 448, 486
Russell, Mr. 68
Ryan, M., 280

S

Sadyk, Ismail, 209, 210
Sahune de Lafayette, M., 474, 479
Saïd Bagarrah, 89, 94, 109, 116, 148, 435
Saïd Burgasch, Sultan, 172, 177, 182, 194
— letter of, 183
Saïd-el-Bedowee Fêtes, 284–296
Saïd Pasha, 24
Saidina, Prince, 524
Saigon, 390
Saint Venant, M. le Comte, 478
Salah-eddin-Yousouf (Saladin), 27
Salon of Juliette Lamber, the, 332
Samniatelle, Col., 437
Sami Mahmoud, 239
Sancho Panza, 186
Saoud Abou, 68, 79, 115, 435
Savage, Lieut., 38–9
Schaeffer, M., 172
Schnitzler, Edward 410,
Schoepf, Gen. Albin F., 9–11, 15
Scholfield, Gen., 334
Schweinfurth, Dr., 126, 129, 160, 164, 199, 512
Scott, Gen. Winfield, 10, 223
Scranton, Dr., 363
Semmes, 195
Seoul, 341, 350, 362
Servant, M., 452
Seward, the Hon. H., 56
Seward's Travels Around the World, 57
Seymour, Sir Beauchamp, 254, 257, 273
Shamanism, 359
Shanghai, 356, 387
Shea, Judge, 223

Shekan, the defeat of Hicks at, 310
Sherman, Gen. W. T., 38, 58, 516, 540
Shim Panza, 354
Shufeldt, Admiral, 340, 371
Sibley, Gen., 16, 22, 27, 33, 37, 39
Sickles, Gen., 7
Sid-Abd-el-Kader, the, 314
Sid-es-Senoussi, the, 314
Siout, 154–5
Slocum, Gen., 7
Smith, Donaldson, 129
Soando, 373
Sobat, the, 120
Société de Géographie de Vienna, La, 198
— — Paris, La, 162, 167
— Fermière d'Orman-Abou-Ballah, La, 319
Société Khédiviale du Géographie du Caire, 160, 199, 240, 313, 410, 414, 431
Société Normande de Géographie de Rouen, 430, 443
Somerset Guard, the, 4, 5
Soubiran, M., 474
Soudan, M. Jehan, 413
Speke, Capt., 98, 100–1, 107, 199, 409, 415
Sso-Puang-Sso, M., 271
St. Louis, 204
St. Marc, Commandant M., 478
Staël, Madame de, 332
Stanley, Sir H. M., 67, 129, 164, 165, 224, 280–1, 326, 400–12, 423, 513, 525, 537
Stanton, Gen., 70, 76, 116
Stevens, Rear-Admiral T. H., 515
Stewart, Gen. J. E. B., 7
Stoddart, M., 371
Stone, Gen. C. P., 39, 55, 56, 57, 160, 231, 239, 334
— letters of, 169–70, 241, 551
Strahan, the Rev., 60
Suit-Ho, M., 378
Surrat, John H., 302

T

Taeping, 70
Taillet, Paul, 270
Tai-Ven-Keun, The, 349
Tanganyika, Lake, 415
Tantah, 24, 241, 284
— massacre at, 271
Taubman-Goldie, Sir G., letter of, 561
Taylor, Bayard, 191, 203
Tel-el-Kebir, 39, 248, 275, 312, 540
Thebaide, 154
Thewfik Pasha (Khedive), welcomes Chaillé-Long on his return to Egypt, 238–9; his humiliating situation, 237, 239, 245, 431; leaves Palace of Mustapha for Ras-el-tin escorted by cavalry during bombardment of Alexandria, 263; thanks Chaillé-Long for his assistance, 264, 395; Gordon's enemy, 315; reply to Chaillé-Long regarding removal of Cleopatra's Needle, 327; the pardon of Abd-el-Rasak, 275–6; decorates Chaillé-Long for services to Egypt, 317; recounts interview with Gordon, 393; open letter from Chaillé-Long, 401; is instructed to decorate Stanley, 410; death at Helouan, 430

Thompson, M., 342
Thomson, Mr. Joseph, 334
— letter of, 335
Three Prophets, 320, 462
Ticki-Ticki, 126–31, 148, 156, 417, 434
Tilden, Mr. S. J., 223
Tong-Shao-Yi, Mr., 343
Tonino Bey, 67, 208, 264, 393
Tonkin, 311
Toombs, Gen., 203
Touchard, 129
Tourandot, Queen, 344
Toutain, M., 413, 430
Townsend and Walsh, Messrs., 341
Tudert, Count de, 453
Turi, Admiral, 438
Turco, Pastor, 472
Tyng, Dr. S. H., 465

U

Uganda, 89–114, 164, 280, 336, 400–12, 541
Unyoro, the, 107, 113
Urondogani, 102

V

Vanderbilt, Mr., 327
Vanderpoel, Mr. A. J., 223, 236
Vaurigaud, Mademoiselle, 472
Vendôme, 473
Vienna, 220
Vignaud, M., 461, 465, 487
Vivian, Lord, 210
Voisson, 129

W

Wadhams, Lieut.-Comdr. A. V., 339
Waeber, M., 343, 364, 366
Wahy Bey, 263
Wainwright, Lieut., 350, 387
Wallace, Col., 6
Wallace, Gen. Lew, 9, 317
Ward, Gen., 58, 65, 71
Warner, Mr. Dudley, 432
Washburne, Mr., 20
Washington, 330, 396, 455, 495
— presentation of statue of George, 478
Wassif, Lieut. Hassan, 69, 84–8, 173, 178, 184, 188
Welles, Mr., 13
West, Lord Sackville, 330, 394
Whitehead, Capt., 253, 257, 262, 272, 277
Whitehouse, Mr. F. C., 242
Wilcox, Gen. Cadmus, 334
Wilson, Dr., 39
— Sir Rivers, 213, 225
Wo, Mr., 378
Wo Chusa, 343–5
Wolf, 129
Wolseley, Lord, 39, 278, 572
Wood, the Hon. Benjamin, 223, 337
Woods, Lieut. Max, 371

Y

Yang-Man-Tuk, 373
Yang-Ulla, 377
Yildiz, 318
Yokohama, 339
Young, Mr. and Mrs. de, 338
Yuan-Shi-Kai, Mr., 343
Yu-Kee-Han, 372

Z

Zaneti, 130
Zanzibari, 191
Zobair Pasha, 317, 438
Zulficar Pasha, 31, *32*, *208*

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